THE STUDENTS' SERIES

OF LATIN CLASSICS

LIVY

BOOKS XXI AND XXII

LORD

K. S. REED

1915

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Mary Whalen

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pario, parere, peperi, partus = bring forth
paro, parare, paravi, paratus = to prepare
pareo, parere, parui, —— = to obey
parco, parcere, peperci, parsus = to spare

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13 North College

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Joseph T. Whalen

PHYS· Psycologically Speaking·

1) Why should 2 sleep alone when one can sleep together.

2) Whoever heard of a left handed monkey wrench having a brain.

3) Most people talk from right or left brain. But Omara can talk fluently with either half

4) No. Spanish Influenza does not come from the Spanish Onion.

5) They are not going to teach Hebrew any more.

Why?

Because - on account of Spanish Influenza, no coughing or spitting allowed in public.

If a thing is left handed its ~~left~~ right brained. - But who in the hell heard of a left handed monkey wrench having a brain.


Paris.
HISPANIA
GALLIA
ITALIA
AFRICA
NUMIDIA
MAURETANIA
Gallaici
Asturi
Vaccaei
Celtiberi
Vascones
Herinandica
Lusitani
Carpetani
Olcades
Oretani
Turdetani
Conni
Minius F.
Astura F.
Arbocala
Durius F.
Numantia
Hiberus F.
Ilerda
Sicoris F.
Ilergetes
Bargusii
Atanagrium
Ausetani
Lacetani
Barcino
Tarraco
Onusa
Edetani
Saguntum
Turis F.
Sucro F.
Tagus F.
Anas F.
Baetis F.
Castulo
Illiturri
Tader F.
Longuntica
Carthago Nova
Illiberri
Munda
Gades
Fretum Gaditanum
Pyrenaei M.
Garumna F.
Volcae
Tectosages
Arecomici
Ruscino
Narbo Martius
Illiberi
Emporiae
S. Gallicus
Massilia
Salluvies
Druentia F.
Rhodanus
Tricastini
Vocontii
Allobroges
Tricorii
A. Cottiae
A. Maritimae
Taurini
Sallassi
Gallia
Cisalpina
Insubres
Cenomani
Placentia
Cremona
Padus F.
Ticinus
Ligures
Genua
Boii
Mutina
Bononia
VIA AEMILIA
Ariminum
Ancona
Arretium
Cortona
L. Trasumenus
Pisae
Etruria
Umbria
Picenum
Asculum
Hadria
Spoletum
Sabini
Marrucini
Frentani
Marsi
Tibur
Roma
Caere
Ostia
Cosa
Ardea
Antium
Sinuessa
Vulturnum
Capua
Calatia
Beneventum
Hirpini
Venusia
Cannae
Canusium
Arpi
Larinum
Neapolis
Paestum
Lucania
Metapontum
Heraclea
Tarentum
Brundisium
VIA APPIA
Uzentum
Thurii
Laus
Lacinium Pr.
Bruttii
Vibo
Locri
Messana
Liparaeae Iae
Drepana
Eryx
Aegates Iae
Lilybaeum
SICILIA
Agrigentum
Syracusae
Melita
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Baliares Iae
Maior
Minor
Ebusus
Pr. Candidum
Utica
Pr. Mercurii
Carthago
Hippo Regius
Cirta
Zama Regia
Meninx
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50 100 150 200
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The Students' Series of Latin Classics

LIVY

BOOKS XXI AND XXII

EDITED

ON THE BASIS OF WÖLFFLIN'S EDITION
WITH INTRODUCTION AND MAPS

BY

JOHN K. LORD, PH.D.
PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

οὐ πόλλ' ἀλλὰ πολύ

BENJ. H. SANBORN & CO.
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PREFACE.

This edition of Livy is based upon Professor Wölfflin's third edition of the 21st book — revised by Luterbacher — and his second edition of the 22d book. The text is that of Wölfflin without change, but in an appendix will be found a brief consideration of the principal variations of the Mss., and the more important conjectures.

The notes of Professor Wölfflin's edition, which are of especial value for the help they give toward a correct understanding of the Hannibalic war, by correcting and supplementing Livy's account, and also for the attention they pay to the literary and grammatical study of the author, I have attempted to adapt to the needs of our college students. Some I have omitted, many have been expanded or contracted, and something has been added in the way of historical explanation, and in consideration of Livy's style, and in references to the grammars. In connection with Wölfflin's edition, I have made especial use of Weissenborn's, Fabri's, Luterbacher's, Tücking's, and also of many others. The introduction on Livy as a writer, and on the relations of Rome and Carthage to the close of the Punic wars, has been added, and also the index to the notes.

Of the maps, that of Lake Trasumennus is from Wölfflin's edition; that of the Alps is taken, with a slight change, from Arnold's *Second Punic War;* and the plan of the field of

Cannae is slightly changed from the one in Smith's *Carthage and the Carthaginians*.

In order to give opportunity for practice in rapid reading, in connection with the 21st and 22d books, the 1st book has been prepared. With such reading in view, the notes to the book are short and put at the foot of the page. For convenience of class-room work it is bound in one volume with the 21st and 22d books, but for those who prefer it in separate form it is also issued by itself.

I take pleasure in expressing my thanks to Professor Wölfflin, for his courteous permission to use his edition as a basis for the present one. I also acknowledge with pleasure the great obligation under which Professor E. M. Pease, the editor-in-chief of the series, has placed me, by his many and acute suggestions in the completion of the notes, and by his unwearied diligence in forwarding the publication of the book. For similar suggestions, and for their conscientious care in reading the proof, I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor C. G. Herbermann and to Professor E. H. Spieker.

JOHN K. LORD.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, October, 1896.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

Titus Livius.

Titus Livius, the great Roman historian, was born at Patavium, the modern Padua, about 59 or 57 B.C. His only extant work, the history of Rome, has reached us in a fragmentary state. Out of 142 books supposed to have been written, only 35, with a few inconsiderable fragments, are in existence. These include the first ten books, or decade, as they are called, covering the period from the founding of the city to nearly the close of the third Samnite war, and the third, fourth, and half the fifth decades, books 21 to 45 inclusive, giving the history of Rome from the outbreak of the second Punic war to the triumph of Æmilius Paulus over Macedonia, 167 B.C.

These portions of his history are sufficient to give a just idea of him as a historian and a writer. Modern criticism has diligently examined his work, inquiring particularly into the sources and authenticity of his materials, the fidelity of his research, and his credibility as a witness. The result of this examination has been to detract seriously from Livy's reliability as a historian. He has been shown to be lacking in the "historical instinct." He did not consciously misstate, having rather a strict regard for the truth, but while he was free from such a partisan bias that he was unable fairly to estimate men and measures, he was careless in obtaining and sifting his information. For a searching examination of Livy's shortcomings as a historian, the English student is referred to Seeley's "Livy, Bk. I., Introduction"; to Sir G. C. Lewis' "On the Credibility of Early Roman History," and to Niebuhr's "Historical Lectures."

But however much Livy may have suffered as a historian, he has gained as a master of style, and the charm of his manner and his mastery of diction are an offset for his lack of research and his many inaccuracies. The reader almost forgets the frequent inconsistencies and absurdities of the narrative in his pleasure at the grace with which it is told. There is a warmth of feeling that enlivens the most trifling events, and a picturesqueness in the grouping of details, as well as in the general outline, that is almost poetic. Even in the earlier portions of the history, where the brief statements of the annalists gave little variety, he seized upon the salient points with such skill and combined them with such grace that the narrative never becomes dry or dull, or fails of interest.

Livy's way of thinking was pictorial. His historical view was not of a series of events in orderly arrangement, but of a succession of pictures, a panorama of individual though connected scenes. He therefore had little discussion of cause and result, little development of the logical or philosophical sequence of history; but he delighted in the description of striking circumstances and feelings. He was fully sensible of the power of words, showing clearly their power over himself; and he found opportunity for their effective use in description, and especially in the speeches which he puts into the mouths of his characters. As illustrations the student has but to examine in these two books the accounts of Hannibal's character, of his dream on setting out for Italy, of the siege of Saguntum, of the passage of the Alps with Hannibal's speech on the summit; of the speeches before the battle on the Trebia, of the effect on Rome of the defeat at Trasumennus, and, to mention no others, of the debate in the senate on the ransom of the prisoners taken at Cannae.

These illustrations show Livy at his best, in the delineation of character, the exhibition of motives and the portrayal of feelings; that is, as a word-painter. The human element in him was strong. He possessed the power of realizing the exigencies and feelings of a given occasion, and thus the

speeches which he puts into the mouths of historical personages, while exhibiting his own rotund and flowing diction, yet happily represent what the persons might well have said on the given occasions. He catches the spirit of an event, though he expresses it in his own phraseology, and not in that of the time. It is this human, sympathetic element that gives Livy such power. He was a true Roman, an ardent admirer of Rome's early history, of her republican institutions, of her traditional heroes, and a believer in her eternal destiny; but this did not prevent him from appreciating the feelings of an enemy, as shown by the speech which he assigns to Hannibal at the Trebia. In reading the 21st and 22d books the student cannot fail to note the pictorial element, how the historian is not detailing the events of a dead past, but painting scenes, which he sees vividly before him, and which in his story live again.

The general impression which an author's style makes upon the reader is often as distinct and yet as evasive of description as the author's personality. As it is the tone of the voice, the glance of the eye, and the fleeting gesture that determine the impression which an individual makes upon his fellows, and as none of these can be exactly photographed or described, so the style of an author taken as a whole produces an impression peculiar to itself, and independent of the use of words and idioms. From what has been said of Livy's style, it is easy to see that it must be pleasing. It was the expression of a man, imaginative, sympathetic, learned, enamoured with his subject, and rich in utterance. His speech was flowing and free, and he naturally adopted the periodic form. This form was well suited to his purpose. For logical and philosophical discussions the sonorous period is ill adapted, but in descriptive, imaginative, and emotional writing it finds its true place. It is always exposed to the danger of exaggeration, and of straining for effect, and Livy may be criticised for these faults. His periods are sometimes long and labored, sacrificing substance to form, but in general he carries the reader on with the smooth and strong current of his words. The historian and narrator of bare facts

was often merged in the poet, and his vivid imagination gave a glow to the whole.

But aside from its general characteristics an author's style is affected by peculiarities in the use of words and idioms. A writer is distinguished by a fondness for certain forms of expression, for certain tricks of speech. The study of Livy's peculiarities of this kind has been very minute, but the limits of this introduction do not allow even a summary of the results. The student is referred to the histories of Latin literature, Cruttwell, Simcox, Teuffel, which treat of Livy's style in general, and in particular to Wölfflin's "On the Criticism and Diction of Livy," Kühnast's "Syntax of Livy," and Fügner's "Livy, books XXI.-XXIII., with references to Caesar's Gallic War." The following points, however, gathered mainly from these works, mark the progress of the change from the Latin of Cicero and Caesar to that of the silver age.

I. Greater freedom in the use of substantives. (*a*) Abstract for concrete: e.g., *remigium* 21. 22. 4; *paucitas* 22. 24. 9; *dignitas* 22. 40. 4. (*b*) Concrete for collective: e.g., *eques* and *miles* 21. 54. 2; 22. 37. 7; *Poenus* 21. 8. 3. (*c*) Frequency of verbals in *us*: e.g., *effectus* 21. 7. 6; and in *tor*, which are also used adjectively: e.g., *victor* 21. 5. 4; *ruptor* 21. 40. 11.

II. Adjectives. (*a*) Used substantively in the neuter singular and plural, and often with a genitive: e.g., *extremum* and *extrema* 21. 34. 7 and 8; *inpertitis* 21. 41. 13; *medium* 22. 2. 3; *omnia* 22. 39. 13. (*b*) New forms or those previously poetical, especially those in *alis*, *osus*, and *bundus*: e.g., *vicinalis* 21. 26. 8; *nivalis* 21. 54. 7; *glareosus* 21. 31. 11; *nivosus* 21. 58. 8; *tentabundus* 21. 36. 1; *contionabundus* 21. 53. 6.

III. Adverbs. (*a*) For adjectives: e.g., *circa*, 21. 7. 5 and 11. 12; *infra* 21. 36. 6; *deinceps* 21. 8. 5. (*b*) Especially *ceterum* as a conjunction, 21. 5. 1.

IV. Pronouns. *alius*: = ὁ ἄλλος, *the rest*, 21. 12. 6; 22. 5. 7. *Quicunque* and like words without a verb, 22. 58. 5.

V. Verbs. (*a*) Transitive for intransitive: e.g., *transmittere* 21. 36. 1; *colere* 21. 26. 6. (*b*) Intransitives for transitives:

Rome & Carthage

e.g., *tremere* 22. 27. 3; *invadere* 21. 30. 2; *evadere* 21. 32. 12. (*c*) Frequentatives for the simple forms, more common in the first decade. (*d*) Use of the auxiliaries *fuerim, fueram, forem*: e.g., *acta fuerat* 21. 3. 2; *restituti fuerimus* 22. 59. 11; *decreta forent* 21. 21. 1.

VI. Participles. (*a*) Use as concrete nouns: e.g., *ridentis* 21. 2. 6. (*b*) The prefect passive participle for an abstract noun: e.g., *amissae* 21. 1. 5; *peremptorum* 21. 16. 2; *superiecta* 22. 51. 8. (*c*) Use in place of a clause: e.g., *invicta* 21. 5. 11; *oppugnandis* 21. 5. 3; *credentis* 21. 30. 6. (*d*) The future participle to express purpose: e.g., *pugnaturi* 21. 43. 11; *facturus* 21. 32. 1.

VII. Cases. (*a*) The partitive genitive with neuter adjectives: e.g., *inmensum altitudinis* 21. 33. 7; *multum diei* 22. 45. 1; with other adjectives: e. g., *delecti equitum* 22. 15. 10. (*b*) The use of the ablative instrumental, modal, local (without preposition), and absolute (cf. the sentence 22. 4. 4) is especially enlarged: e.g., *partibus* 21. 8. 2; *campo* 22. 4. 6; *ora* 21. 22. 5; *consectando* 21. 43. 8; *tripertito* 21. 23. 1.

VIII. Construction. (*a*) Frequent synesis: e.g., *enecti* 21. 40. 9; *pars . . . erant* 21. 49. 10; *pars . . . progressi . . . inmergunt* 22. 6. 6. (*b*) Joining of prepositions, with their cases, to nouns: e.g., *pugna ad Trebiam* 21. 15. 6; *in Siciliam transitum* 21. 50. 8; *Numidas ex castris* 22. 45. 2. (*c*) Union of dissimilar constructions: e.g., *castris praesidio et circumspectans* 22. 23. 10; *perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos explorantem* 22. 28. 1; *Quos Poenus adlocutus et . . . accensos dimisit* 21. 48. 2.

IX. Pleonasm, alliteration, and chiasmus. See the index to the notes.

II.

Rome and Carthage.

The struggle between Rome and Carthage has a strong dramatic interest. It was not merely a series of wars conducted on a vast scale, but the death grapple of two diverse races and types of civilization. To the ordinary passions of

war was added a personal animosity, and the general features of a great struggle were intensified by the appearance of extraordinary leaders, whose individual character determined the course of the war and aroused the strongest personal following. On both sides, but more especially on the Carthaginian, there were men, who, by circumstance and superior ability, became controlling powers. One can hardly say which more attracts his thought, Rome or the Scipios, Carthage or Hamilcar and Hannibal.

The opening chapter of Livy's 21st book shows that the Romans themselves felt the peculiar nature of the conflict. Three wars were necessary to settle the final supremacy of Rome. It is of the second that Livy particularly speaks; but what he says of the second was equally applicable to the third, except that the resources of Carthage were then diminished. At the beginning of their struggle the two cities were not unequally matched in resources, though Carthage was probably the larger. For several centuries they had been growing on opposite sides of the Mediterranean, extending and consolidating their power, till by the middle of the third century B.C. they came face to face, and it needed but an occasion to bring on the inevitable conflict for supremacy.

Carthage was older by about a century. She was the daughter of commerce, the last and greatest of the colonies which the enterprise of the Phoenician merchants had established round the western part of the Mediterranean. Her original name was Kirjath Hadescath (Carthage through the Greek), meaning New Town, from her proximity to the earlier Utica. Her favorable situation for inland and maritime commerce gave her a pre-eminence among the Phoenician colonies, which soon assumed the nature of control. Her sailors were the most daring on the Mediterranean, and they did not confine their movements to that sea, but sailed out upon the Atlantic as far north as Britain, and as far south as the equator. With the wealth obtained by her extended commerce she hired large armies of mercenaries to do her fighting; for her citizens shrank

from the exercise of arms, and rather than enter into wars that injured their commerce, they preferred to pay for centuries to the native tribes about them an annual rent for the ground on which their city stood. But even commercial supremacy sometimes required the subjection of others, and gradually Carthage extended her sway over northern Africa and over Corsica and Sardinia, except the central mountains, and over Sicily except the powerful city of Syracuse and the narrow strip along the eastern coast. This was the extent of her domain when Rome had consolidated her conquest of the Italian peninsula, and having driven Pyrrhus from her borders, was pausing like an athlete after one struggle and taking breath for another.

The two peoples, though they had never been in conflict, were not unknown to each other. The commercial ventures of the Carthaginians had brought them into contact with the Romans, and their relations had become so important that in 450 B.C. a treaty was made to regulate them. By this treaty Rome was not to send her ships beyond Cape Bon except under stress of weather, but she might trade in Carthage and her larger colonies, while Carthage was to refrain from all interference with the affairs of Italy as far as Rome might be immediately or prospectively affected. In the course of a hundred years this treaty fell somewhat into desuetude, so that in 348 B.C. it was renewed practically on the same terms, except that Rome was not allowed to send ships into the Atlantic or to trade with any of the colonies of Carthage. This treaty was terminated by the outbreak of the first Punic war.

It is difficult to compare the two peoples, owing to our ignorance of the institutions of Carthage. In some general way there was a resemblance between the two governments. Monarchic in the beginning, that of Carthage passed through several stages till it was directed by two magistrates called *Suffetes*, corresponding to the Roman consuls, but the mode of their election and their tenure of office are equally uncertain. They presided over a senate of twenty-eight members, whose enactments, when ratified by the Suffetes, were law. By some

unknown influence, the senate changed in the time of the Punic wars into a council of 104, called the "Hundred," forming a close college, and having absolute control of affairs. Its members held their office for life, till Hannibal, among his many reforms, limited their tenure to one year. The general method of administration, as well as of political classification, is unknown.

But nothing could be more unlike than the characters of the two peoples. At Carthage commerce was the one great business; at Rome it was held in disrepute. Carthaginians avoided military service, preferring to fill their armies with mercenaries; while the first duty of a Roman was to give his services, and if need be his life, for the state. At Carthage the state existed for the individual, at Rome the individual for the state. The patriotism of Carthage was therefore of a receptive, slumbrous character, called into full activity only by crises affecting the national existence, while in Rome it was a constant force manifesting itself in every phase of public life. In war Carthage intrusted her fortunes to soldiers whose only interest in success was the payment of their hire, but Roman troops were freemen to whom personal and national honor were equally dear. Similar differences existed between the two nations in the endurance of disaster, self-sacrifice, and fortitude, the softness of the one being matched by the sternness of the other.

When, with such qualities, the two nations came into conflict, it was inevitable that Rome, though doubtless numerically inferior, should in the end prevail. In the great crisis of the struggle, when the issue depended upon the character of the peoples rather than upon their resources, it was the iron will of Rome and the individual patriotism of her citizens that carried the day.

When the two peoples had reached a point where the further expansion of either would interfere with the other, then the first war came. It began in 263 B.C., and was brought about by a trifling incident. At that time Carthage held possession of the sea and the islands before mentioned. Rome had

completed the conquest of Italy south of the valley of the Po, and in the interval of peace was taking the measure of her strength and fortune. The first clash of arms was at Messana, where the two parties in a civil contest had appealed, one to Rome and one to Carthage. Both cities granted the request for aid, and the war then begun continued for twenty-two years, till in 241 the Carthaginians admitted their defeat by the cession of Sicily to the Romans, and the payment of a heavy ransom. The war was not memorable for any great land battles, though the Romans reduced several important fortresses, but for the skill and vigor with which the Romans constructed a navy, and in the face of one great defeat and several great disasters at sea, kept on with their efforts till the victory of the Aegates Islands brought the war to an end. Neither side produced a great general, till near the close of the war, Hamilcar, a true military genius, appeared on the Carthaginian side, but too late to change the issue.

When Carthage retired from Sicily, she became involved in a war with her unpaid mercenaries and subject populations, which was carried on with such atrocities on both sides that it gained the name of the "Inexpiable War." During its progress, when Carthage was brought to the verge of destruction, the Romans, taking advantage of the helpless condition of Carthage, took from her the island of Sardinia and forced her to pay an additional indemnity of 1200 talents. It was the genius of Hamilcar that finally brought salvation to Carthage. He became the leader of a new party, called from him the "Barcine" party, that had for its object the renewal of the war with Rome. But Hamilcar clearly saw that Carthage with her mercantile spirit could never successfully cope with Rome, and that if she was to be saved in the conflict that inevitably would come, it must be by some powerful auxiliary. He therefore determined to win her an empire outside herself, and with this in view turned to the conquest of Spain. Going to that country with a strong force, he became a virtual king, subduing peoples by the combined force of arms and diplomacy, and establishing

his power so firmly that when the Roman Cato viewed its remains half a century later, he exclaimed, "Surely there was no king like Hamilcar Barca." After nine years of success he fell in battle, leaving his power to his son-in-law Hasdrubal, who continued the same course of war and diplomacy till he fell by an assassin's hand. To his place the joint voice of the army and people elevated Hannibal, the greatest of Hamilcar's three sons, the "lion's brood," Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, then a young man of twenty-six, who, having at the age of nine sworn eternal enmity to Rome, had served under his father and Hasdrubal, and already given proof of his pre-eminent military genius. Livy describes the enthusiasm with which the army received his appointment, and Hannibal soon justified their opinion. Hamilcar's plan had been to make Spain a basis of operations against Rome; and now that Spain was a Carthaginian dependency, Hannibal was ready to carry out that plan. The breach with Rome was made by an attack upon Saguntum. The neutrality of this town had been secured by a treaty between Hasdrubal and Rome, and Hannibal's attack upon it was ostensibly on the ground that it had interfered with the subjects of Carthage. But the Saguntines appealed to Rome for help. Embassies were sent to Hannibal and to Carthage to expostulate, but while they went and came Saguntum fell. War was then declared by the Romans and accepted by the Carthaginians.

Hannibal determined to take the initiative. He proposed nothing less than the invasion of Italy, rightly judging that Rome could be subdued only by carrying the war into her own home. Collecting a force of 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse, he set out in the spring of 218, and crossing the Pyrenees and Gaul, he reached the Rhone about midsummer. Forcing the passage of the river in the face of hostile Gauls, and eluding the Roman consul, who at the report that Hannibal was in Gaul had given up going to Spain in order to intercept him at the Rhone, he turned inland toward the Alps, which he reached in the latter part of September. The crossing of the Alps, probably by the Little St. Bernard pass, occupied fifteen days, and

Hannibal and Hamilcar

brought him down into the valley of the Po near the modern Turin. But his army was greatly shrunken. The losses by battle, desertion, exposure, disease, and the terrible journey across the Alps, had reduced his infantry to 20,000 and his cavalry to 6,000. What a pitiable force with which to attempt the subjugation of Rome! But it was not Hannibal's intention to conquer Rome with the forces he brought. He came proclaiming to the subjugated races deliverance from Roman oppression, and he hoped to overcome the great city by uniting against her all Italy from the Po to the Sicilian Straits. His message was the message of freedom, and his force was to be the collective might of ransomed peoples. The Gauls soon rallied to his standard, and their allegiance was confirmed by two victories which he won over the Romans, the first a cavalry skirmish on the Ticinus in which the Roman consul was wounded, and the second a general engagement with both consular armies on the Trebia.

In the spring of 217 B.C. Hannibal entered Etruria by an unexpected route, and soon after entrapped the new Roman consul, Flaminius, at Lake Trasumennus. The Romans lost 21,000 in killed and captured, and Flaminius was among the slain. The fear and excitement in Rome were intense. Men recalled the Gallic invasion of 390 B.C., and looked for the immediate coming of Hannibal. Recourse was had to the long-neglected expedient of appointing a dictator, and to Q. Fabius Maximus was entrusted the duty of saving the city. But Hannibal knew that Rome was too strong for any army that he could raise, and it was his policy to detach the allies of Rome, and thus sap her strength. Turning, therefore, away from Rome, he passed down the eastern side of the Apennines, giving his forces a chance to recruit, and using the time to re-arm them with the Roman weapons taken at Trebia and Trasumennus. Little by little he worked his way to southern Samnium, and thence to Campania, the garden of Italy, burning and plundering as he went, vainly trying to bring the Romans to an engagement. It was the dictator's policy to avoid a pitched battle, and to

exhaust his enemy by restricting his movements and cutting off his foragers. The dilatory policy of Fabius was not popular at Rome, and in the following year it was determined to crush Hannibal by a gigantic effort. The ordinary forces were doubled, and when in midsummer the contending armies met at Cannae, in northern Apulia, the Romans had 87,200 men to 50,000 of Hannibal. The defeat of the Romans was in proportion to their preparations. The battle began in the morning, and when the sun went down 50,000 Romans (Livy says 70,000) lay dead upon the field, including one consul, ninety senators, ex-consuls, praetors and aediles, while Hannibal lost but 5700. Rome was filled with mourning and terror. Every family from high to low was stricken on that fatal day, and to avert the danger of neglected sacrifices and ceremonies the senate limited the time of public mourning to thirty days. But the greatness of Rome and the senate never more fully appeared; for when the consul who was responsible for the disaster returned to the city, the senate went out to meet him with a vote of thanks that he had not despaired of the republic.

Hannibal has often been blamed for not advancing upon Rome after Cannae, but he knew the strength of the city's walls, and that without a siege train, which he had not, it was impossible to reduce it. His hope was that the great military colonies which Rome had scattered through Italy would come over to him. If they had revolted, Rome's fate would have been sealed; but with the exception of Capua all remained faithful, and Hannibal's expectation of detaching Rome's allies was disappointed.

Henceforth the character of the war changes. The tide of victory which with ever-increasing volume had rolled from the Pyrenees to the Alps, from the Alps to Trasumennus, and from Trasumennus to Cannae, henceforth, though never receding, is broken into many fragments which lack the splendor of the mighty wave. Hannibal sought in vain for help from Carthage. When with the announcement of his victories he made a request for reinforcements, the short-sighted and money-

loving Carthaginians replied, that as he was victor he could not need new troops, and with that golden opportunity lost their chance of success.

There were no more great battles with Hannibal in Italy. Carthage sent to Sicily the forces she refused to him, and they were defeated. In Spain, after alternating disaster and success, Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, who commanded there, gathered a strong army, and following the course of Hannibal, crossed the Alps to his relief. But the brothers never met; for while Hannibal waited in Apulia, Hasdrubal was met by the two consuls in Umbria, on the Metaurus, and in a decisive battle he was killed and his army destroyed. Yet Hannibal maintained himself for five years longer in Italy, without support or reinforcements from home, till Rome having subdued Spain after the departure of Hasdrubal, determined to carry the war into Africa. An expedition was despatched under the command of Scipio, the conqueror of Spain and the son of the consul who was wounded on the Ticinus. Its landing in Africa led to the immediate recall of Hannibal from Italy. Hannibal received the message of recall with sighs and groans; and "no exile," says Livy, "ever left his native land with more regret than Hannibal the land of his enemies." In the summer of 202, on the field of Zama, with a handful of his Italian veterans and a large force of raw troops, Hannibal met the disciplined legions of Scipio. The rout of the Carthaginians was complete, and Hannibal, "the unconquered general of a conquered nation," negotiated the terms of the subsequent peace. Carthage paid an immense indemnity, gave up all her territory except the small district of Lybia, gave up all but ten of her ships of war to be burned, and agreed to make no war and no alliance without the consent of Rome.

Hannibal at once set himself to reform the government of his country, and in seven years made almost a revolution; but the Roman senate in their fear, with a confession of weakness as humiliating to them as it was honorable to him, sent a messenger to demand his surrender. By his flight he saved his

country the unspeakable disgrace of his surrender, and left her only the lesser disgrace of banishing from his native land the noblest scion of the Phoenician race. For eleven years he wandered from one Eastern court to another, but pursued by the implacable hatred and ceaseless fears of Rome, he at last, when no longer able to escape, put an end to his life by poison. "The profound saying," says Mommsen, "that those are the favorites of the gods on whom they lavish infinite joys and infinite sorrows, thus verified itself in full measure in case of Hannibal."

The spirit of conquest engendered at Rome by her victory over Carthage was not suffered to languish at the close of the war. In the little more than fifty years before the outbreak of the third Punic war Rome had subdued Macedonia, Greece, and a large part of Asia Minor and Syria. But notwithstanding the extent of her power and domain she could not rest quiet while her old rival still existed. Carthage had shown great recuperative powers. The outlying country was exceedingly fertile, and her old prosperity was returning. Roman statesmen were jealous of her, and Cato, returning from an embassy to Carthage, held up in the senate a cluster of figs which he had brought from Africa, and enlarging on the wealth of Carthage exclaimed, "Delenda est Carthago." Every subsequent speech of his life, on whatever topic, was closed with that expression. His vehemence had its effect. The destruction of Carthage was determined on. Advantage was taken of a pretended breach of the treaty by Carthage in resisting encroachments on her territory by Massinissa, a neighboring king. War was declared, and the same day an armament of 60,000 men set out from Rome.

The Carthaginians sent embassies offering any satisfaction Rome might ask. She referred them to her general already in Sicily. They were there required to deliver within thirty days three hundred hostages from the noblest families of Carthage. It was done. Having thus secured an unobstructed landing, the Romans passed over to Africa, and when they

had secured their position, they announced to the Carthaginians that, as they were under Roman protection, they had no longer any need of arms or engines of war and that these must all be given up. The Carthaginians obeyed, and delivered up 2000 catapults and 200,000 stands of arms. Then the Roman consul, after the possibility of resistance had apparently been destroyed, revealed the final orders which he had brought with him from Rome, — that Carthage should be razed to the ground, but the citizens might build again not less than ten miles from the sea. Words cannot picture the anguish of the Carthaginians on hearing the news, and in an agony of despair they determined to die rather than surrender their city.

The war which followed was only a siege, but it lasted three years. The city was strongly fortified, and in the crisis of their national existence the Carthaginians exhibited a patriotic devotion which, if it had been shown earlier, might have prevailed over Rome. As it was, it came too late. Too late they mourned their failure to support their great leader, and made unavailing efforts for defence. The desperate energy of their resistance deserves to rank among the heroic deeds of history, like the defences of Leyden, Alkmaar, Delhi, and Lucknow. All classes gave themselves to the work. No sacrifice was too great to be made. Every house was turned into an armory; iron was taken from the walls and lead from the roofs, and the women gave their hair to make strings for the catapults. The slaves were freed, and every measure taken that hope or despair could suggest. But all in vain; for in addition to other needs they lacked a competent general to direct their operations. The Romans, too, lacked a good general till the command was finally given to Publius Cornelius Scipio, the grandson by adoption of the conqueror of Zama. Before his arrival the siege had progressed slowly but surely. He renewed the discipline of the army, enforced the blockade, and pushed on the siege. In 146 B.C. the city fell; but even when the walls were passed, it was far from taken. The streets were narrow and the houses high, and the wretched inhabitants preferring death

to slavery barricaded their dwellings and yielded them only with their lives. In the final hour all the weakness and softness of the Phoenician race seem to have left them, and they showed that at least they knew how to die. For seven days the slaughter went on. Fire and sword did their dreadful work. The Romans set fire to the houses they could not take, and many Carthaginians burned their own houses over their heads, preferring the breath of the fire to the sword of the Roman. When the end came, of all the population, once perhaps over a million, only 50,000 went forth with the gift of their lives. The city was razed, and the inhabitants forbidden to build within ten miles of the sea. As Scipio looked upon the destruction of the city, he is said to have burst into tears and to have repeated the line of Homer, —

> "The day shall be when holy Troy shall fall,
> And Priam, lord of spears, and Priam's folk." — *Il.* 6. 448.

The long struggle of 150 years was thus ended. Few who read the story fail to sympathize with Carthage in a high degree, both on account of its terrible and tragic fate and of those two grand characters, Hamilcar and Hannibal, who, with all their heroism, genius, and patriotism, could not save their country. Yet in striking the balance between the two peoples few can regret that it was Carthage and not Rome that went to the wall. The civilization of Carthage, though rich and prosperous, was wholly sensuous, and developed none of that strength of character and purpose that made Rome the mistress of the world and caused her to leave her impress on all coming time. Yet, in a way, Carthage had her revenge, for to the ravaging of Italy and the destruction of the independent farming class in the war with Hannibal the decay of Roman social life and the downfall of the republic may be directly traced.

The district of Carthage became the Roman province of Africa. Its fertility made it attractive. Colonies were established at different times, but they were not successful, till at a

later time the Vandals gained possession of it, and it is an illustration of the "irony of events" that Rome never had a more terrible visitation than the presence of the Vandal horde that 600 years later set out from the gates of Carthage.

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TITI LIVII

AB URBE CONDITA LIBER XXI.

In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in 1
principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum
scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quae
umquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale
duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere.
Nam neque validiores opibus ullae inter se civitates 2
gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum
umquam virium aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas belli
artes inter sese, sed expertas primo Punico conferebant
bello, et adeo varia fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit,
ut propius periculum fuerint, qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam 3
prope maioribus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis in-
dignantibus, quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma,
Poenis, quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum
victis esse. Fama est etiam Hannibalem annorum 4
ferme novem pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari,
ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum perfecto Africo bello
exercitum eo traiecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admo-
tum tactis sacris iure iurando adactum se, cum primum
posset, hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingen- 5
tis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae: nam et
Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam, et
Sardiniam inter motum Africae fraude Romanorum

2 stipendio etiam insuper inposito interceptam. His
anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem
Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem
2 annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit, ut
appareret maius eum, quam quod gereret, agitare in
animo bellum, et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce
Poenos arma Italiae inlaturos fuisse, cui Hannibalis
3 ductu intulerunt. Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et
pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Has-
drubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos impe-
rium obtinuit, flore aetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari
conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi
4 adscitus, et quia gener erat, factionis Barcinae opibus,
quae apud milites plebemque plus quam modicae erant,
5 haud sane voluntate principum in imperio positus. Is
plura consilio quam vi gerens hospitiis magis regulo-
rum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis
gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginiensem
6 auxit. Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit: barbarus
eum quidam palam ob iram obtruncati ab eo domini in-
terfecit, conprensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio,
quam si evasisset, vultu, tormentis quoque cum lacera-
retur, eo fuit habitu oris, ut superante laetitia dolores
7 ridentis etiam speciem praebuerit. Cum hoc Hasdru-
bale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperio-
que suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus
Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis
Hiberus, Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum
populorum libertas servaretur.

3 In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit, quin prae-
rogativam militarem, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal
in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium

clamore atque adsensu appellatus erat, favor plebis
sequeretur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris 2
ad se accersierat; actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat.
Barcinis nitentibus, ut adsuesceret militiae Hannibal
atque in paternas succederet opes, Hanno, alterius fac- 3
tionis princeps, "et aecum postulare videtur" inquit
"Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo, quod petit, tri-
buendum." Cum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiae 4
in se omnes convertisset, "florem aetatis" inquit "Has-
drubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum praebuit,
iusto iure eum a filio repeti censet; nos tamen minime
decet iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento ad-
suefacere libidini praetorum. An hoc timemus, ne 5
Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia inmodica et regni
paterni speciem videat, et cuius regis genero heredi-
tarii sint relicti exercitus nostri, eius filio parum
mature serviamus? Ego istum iuvenem domi tenen- 6
dum sub legibus, sub magistratibus docendum vivere
aequo iure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus
hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet." Pauci ac ferme 4
optimus quisque Hannoni adsentiebantur; sed, ut ple-
rumque fit, maior pars meliorem vicit.

Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu
omnem exercitum in se convertit: Hamilcarem iuve- 2
nem redditum sibi veteres milites credere; eundem
vigorem in vultu vimque in oculis, habitum oris linea-
mentaque intueri. Dein brevi effecit, ut pater in se
minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset.
Numquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, paren- 3
dum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud
facile discerneres, utrum imperatori an exercitui carior
esset; neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam praeficere 4

malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset,
neque milites alio duce plus confidere aut audere.
5 Plurimum audaciae ad pericula capessenda, plurimum
consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut cor-
6 pus fatigari aut animus vinci poterat. Caloris ac frigo-
ris patientia par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturali
non voluptate modus finitus; vigiliarum somnique nec
7 die nec nocte discriminata tempora: id quod gerendis
rebus superesset quieti datum; ea neque molli strato
neque silentio accersita; multi saepe militari sagulo
opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationesque
8 militum conspexerunt. Vestitus nihil inter aequales
excellens; arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum
peditumque idem longe primus erat: princeps in proe-
9 lium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio excedebat. Has
tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant: inhumana
crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil
sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla
10 religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum tri-
ennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit nulla re, quae
agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset, praeter-
missa.

5 Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia
ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum
2 esset, nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem
Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus
aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit.
3 Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma
movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines — ultra Hiberum
ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginien-
sium erat — induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Sagun-
tinos, sed rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus,

iungendoque tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Car- 4
talam urbem opulentam, caput gentis eius, expugnat
diripitque; quo metu perculsae minores civitates sti-
pendio inposito imperium accepere. Victor exercitus
opulentusque praeda Carthaginem novam in hiberna
est deductus. Ibi large partiendo praedam stipendio- 5
que praeterito cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium
sociorumque animis in se firmatis vere primo in Vac-
caeos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala, 6
eorum urbes, vi captae. Arbocala et virtute et mul-
titudine oppidanorum diu defensa; ab Hermandica 7
profugi exulibus Olcadum, priore aestate domitae gen-
tis, cum se iunxissent, concitant Carpetanos, adorti- 8
que Hannibalem regressum ex Vaccaeis haud procul
Tago flumine, agmen grave praeda turbavere. Han- 9
nibal proelio abstinuit castrisque super ripam positis,
cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem
vado traiecit, valloque ita producto, ut locum ad trans-
grediendum hostes haberent, invadere eos transeuntes
statuit. Equitibus praecepit, ut, cum ingressos aquam 10
viderent, adorirentur *in*peditum agmen, in ripa ele-
phantos — quadraginta autem erant — disponit. Car- 11
petanorum cum adpendicibus Olcadum Vaccaeorumque
centum milia fuere, invicta acies, si aequo dimicaretur
campo. Itaque et ingenio feroces et multitudine freti 12
et, quod metu cessisse credebant hostem, id morari
victoriam rati, quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato
passim sine ullius imperio, qua cuique proximum est,
in amnem ruunt. At ex parte altera ripae vis ingens 13
equitum in flumen inmissa, medioque alveo haudqua-
quam pari certamine concursum, quippe ubi pedes 14
instabilis ac vix vado fidens vel ab inermi equite equo

temere acto perverti posset, eques corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites stabili, comminus
15 eminusque rem gereret. Pars magna flumine absumpta; quidam verticoso amni delati in hostis ab elephantis
16 obtriti sunt. Postremi, quibus regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepidatione cum in unum conligerentur, priusquam *a* tanto pavore reciperent animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit vastatisque agris intra paucos dies Carpe-
17 tanos quoque in deditionem accepit. Et iam omnia trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.

6 Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat; ceterum iam belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime
2 Turdetanis. Quibus cum adesset idem, qui litis erat sator, nec certamen iuris sed vim quaeri appareret, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum
3 iam haud dubie inminens orantes. Consules tunc Romae erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus; qui cum legatis in senatum introductis de re publica rettulissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in
4 Hispaniam ad res sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent, ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam traicerent ac sociorum populi
5 Romani querimonias deferrent, — hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe celerius Saguntum oppugnari adlatum est. Tunc relata de integro res ad sena-
6 tum; et alii provincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque
7 intenderant bellum; erant, qui non temere movendam

rem tantam exspectandosque ex Hispania legatos censerent. Haec sententia, quae tutissima videbatur, vicit;
legatique eo maturius missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. 8
Baebius Tamphilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposcendum.

Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Sagun- 7
tum summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe opu- 2
lentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique
etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis; ceterum 3
in tantas brevi creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus, seu multitudinis incremento, seu disciplinae sanctitate, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu 4
ingressus fines, pervastatis passim agris, urbem tripertito adgreditur. Angulus muri erat in planiorem 5
patentioremque quam cetera circa vallem vergens. Adversus eum vineas agere instituit, per quas aries moenibus admoveri posset. Sed ut locus procul muro 6
satis aequus agendis vineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis ventum est, coeptis succedebat. Et turris ingens inminebat, et 7
murus, ut in suspecto loco, supra ceterae modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et iuventus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur, ibi vi maiore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus submovere hostem 8
nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati; deinde iam non pro moenibus modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuariis certaminibus 9
haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam Poeni.

10 Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit,
adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit, tanta
circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abesset,
quin opera ac vineae desererentur.

8 Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppu-
gnatio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur. Per quod
tempus ut quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu
2 operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius
de integro coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus,
vix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, vineae coeptae
3 agi admoverique aries. Abundabat multitudine homi-
num Poenus; ad centum quinquaginta milia habuisse
4 in armis satis creditur; oppidani ad omnia tuenda
atque obeunda multifariam distineri coepti non suffi-
5 ciebant. Itaque iam feriebantur arietibus muri, quas-
sataeque multae partes erant; una continentibus ruinis
nudaverat urbem; tres deinceps turres quantumque
inter eas muri erat cum fragore ingenti prociderant.
6 Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni; qua,
velut si pariter utrosque murus texisset, ita utrimque
7 in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariae pugnae
simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occa-
sionem partis alterius conseri solent, sed iustae acies
velut patenti campo inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis
8 modico distantia intervallo constiterant. Hinc spes,
hinc desperatio animos inritat, Poeno cepisse iam se
urbem, si paulum adnitatur, credente, Saguntinis pro
nudata moenibus patria corpora opponentibus, nec ullo
pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum hostem
9 inmitteret. Itaque quo acrius et confertim magis
utrimque pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur nullo
10 inter arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. Phala-

rica erat Saguntinis, missile telum hastili abiegno et
cetera tereti praeterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum
exstabat; id, sicut in pilo, quadratum, stuppa circum-
ligabant linebantque pice; ferrum autem tres longum 11
habebat pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset.
Sed id maxime, etiam si haesisset in scuto nec pene-
trasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat, quod, cum medium 12
accensum mitteretur conceptumque ipso motu multo
maiorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebat, nudumque
militem ad insequentes ictus praebebat. Cum diu an- 9
ceps fuisset certamen, et Saguntinis, quia praeter spem
resisterent, crevissent animi, Poenus, quia non vicisset, 2
pro victo esset, clamorem repente oppidani tollunt
hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde inpeditum
trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatum-
que in castra redigunt.

Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; 3
quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale, qui dice-
rent nec tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum
gentium arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum
operae esse legationes audire. Apparebat non admissos 4
protinus Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntios-
que ad principes factionis Barcinae praemittit, ut prae-
pararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari
populo Romano posset. Itaque, praeterquam quod 10
admissi auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque inrita
legatio fuit. Hanno unus adversus senatum causam 2
foederis magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam, *non*
cum adsensu audientium egit, per deos foederum arbi- 3
tros ac testes senatum obtestans, [ne Romanum cum
Saguntino suscitarent bellum] monuisse, praedixisse
se, ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent;

non manes, non stirpem eius conquiescere viri, nec
umquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quis-
4 quam supersit, quietura Romana foedera. "Iuvenem
flagrantem cupidine regni viamque unam ad id cer-
nentem, si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis
legionibusque vivat, velut materiam igni praebentes
ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium,
5 quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum vestri circumsedent ex-
ercitus, unde arcentur foedere; mox Carthaginem cir-
cumsedebunt Romanae legiones ducibus iisdem dis,
6 per quos priore bello rupta foedera sunt ulti. Utrum
hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis?
Legatos ab sociis et pro sociis venientes bonus im-
perator vester in castra non admisit, ius gentium
sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati
arcentur, pulsi ad nos venerunt; res ex foedere repe-
tunt; ut publica fraus absit, auctorem culpae et reum
7 criminis deposcunt. Quo lenius agunt, segnius inci-
piunt, eo, cum coeperint, vereor ne perseverantius
saeviant. Aegatis insulas Erycemque ante oculos pro-
ponite, quae terra marique per quattuor et viginti
8 annos passi sitis. Nec puer hic dux erat, sed pater
ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento,
id est Italia, non abstinueramus ex foedere, sicut nunc
9 Sagunto non abstinemus. Vicerunt ergo di homines,
et id, de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus
rupisset, eventus belli velut aecus iudex, unde ius
10 stabat, ei victoriam dedit. Carthagini nunc Hannibal
vineas turresque admovet; Carthaginis moenia quatit
ariete: Sagunti ruinae — falsus utinam vates sim —
nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque cum Sagun-
11 tinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. Dedemus

ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio meam levem
esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias;
sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse laetatus sum, quod, si
ille viveret, bellum iam haberemus cum Romanis, et
hunc iuvenem tamquam furiam facemque huius belli
odi ac detestor; nec dedendum solum ad piaculum 12
rupti foederis, sed, si nemo deposcat, devehendum in
ultimas maris terrarumque oras, ablegandum eo, unde
nec ad nos nomen famaque eius accidere neque ille
sollicitare quietae civitatis statum possit. Ego ita 13
censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos, qui sena-
tui satisfaciant, alios, qui Hannibali nuntient, ut exer-
citum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex
foedere Romanis dedant; tertiam legationem ad res
Saguntinis reddendas decerno." Cum Hanno peroras- **11**
set, nemini omnium certare oratione cum eo necesse
fuit: adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat, infes-
tiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum
Valerium legatum Romanum. Responsum inde lega- 2
tis Romanis est bellum ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab
Hannibale esse; populum Romanum iniuste facere, si
Saguntinos vetustissimae Carthaginiensium societati
praeponat.

Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, 3
Hannibal, quia fessum militem proeliis operibusque
habebat, paucorum iis dierum quietem dedit stationibus
ad custodiam vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis.
Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando,
nunc spe praemiorum accendit. Ut vero pro contione 4
praedam captae urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi
omnes sunt, ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla
vi resisti videretur posse. Saguntini, ut a proeliis 5

quietem habuerant, nec lacessentes nec lacessiti per
aliquot dies, ita non nocte, non die umquam cessave-
rant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua
6 patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent. Inde op-
pugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est,
nec, qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem,
cum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire
7 poterant. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis omnia
munimenta urbis superans altitudine agebatur, hor-
tator aderat. Quae cum admota catapultis ballistis-
que per omnia tabulata dispositis muros defensoribus
8 nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem ratus quingentos
ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo
murum mittit. Nec erat difficile opus, quod caementa
non calce durata erant, sed interlita luto structurae
9 antiquae genere. Itaque latius, quam qua caederetur,
ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in
10 urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt;
conlatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in
ipsa urbe velut arcem inminentem haberent, muro
circumdant; et Saguntini murum interiorem ab non-
11 dum capta parte urbis ducunt. Utrimque summa vi
et muniunt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem
12 in dies urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia
omnium longa obsidione et minuitur expectatio exter-
nae opis, cum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa
13 omnia hostium essent. Paulisper tamen adfectos ani-
mos recreavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oreta-
nos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi, dilectus acerbitate
consternati, retentis conquisitoribus metum defectionis
cum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omi-
12 serunt mota arma. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior

erat Maharbale Himilconis filio — eum praefecerat
Hannibal — ita inpigre rem agente, ut ducem abesse
nec cives nec hostes sentirent. Is et proelia aliquot 2
secunda fecit, et tribus arietibus aliquantum muri dis-
cussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti
Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo 3
ductus exercitus, atroxque proelium cum multorum
utrimque caede initum, et pars arcis capta est.

Temptata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes,
Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco 4
insciis Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus,
cum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil
lacrimae movebant, condicionesque tristes ut ab irato
victore ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud
hostem mansit, moriturum adfirmans, qui sub condi-
cionibus iis de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, red- 5
derent res Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque
argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habi-
tarent, ubi Poenus iussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente 6
Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos,
ubi alia vincantur, adfirmans, se pacis eius interpretem
fore pollicetur: erat autem tum miles Hannibalis,
ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tra- 7
dito palam telo custodibus hostium transgressus muni-
menta ad praetorem Saguntinum — et ipse ita iubebat
— est deductus. Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis 8
generis hominum esset factus, submota cetera multi-
tudine senatus Alorco datus est, cuius talis oratio fuit.
"Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad 13
Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale
ad vos rettulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter,
quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos venis-

2 sem: *nunc*, cum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem — sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus — ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est,
3 ad vos veni. Vestra autem causa me nec ullius alterius loqui, quae loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque dum vestris viribus restitistis, neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pacis umquam apud vos mentionem
4 feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla est spes, nec vestra vos iam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem adfero ad vos magis necessariam quam
5 aequam. Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quem ad modum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audietis, et non id, quod amittitur, in damno, cum omnia victoris sint, sed quidquid relinquitur pro munere
6 habituri estis. Urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros relinquit, locum adsignaturus, in quo novum oppidum aedificetis. Aurum et argentum omne, publicum pri-
7 vatumque, ad se iubet deferri; corpora vestra, coniugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes
8 cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire. Haec victor hostis imperat; haec, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei facta sit, ali-
9 quid ex his [rebus] remissurum; sed vel haec patienda censeo potius, quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante ora vestra coniuges ac liberos belli iure sinatis."

14 Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multitudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium,

repente primores secessione facta, priusquam respon-
sum daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico
privatoque in forum conlatum in ignem ad id raptim
factum conicientes eodem plerique semet ipsi praeci-
pitaverunt. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam 2
urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce au-
ditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat, perque ruinam
eius cohors Poenorum impetu facto cum signum impe-
ratori dedisset nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis
hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione 3
ratus Hannibal, totis viribus adgressus urbem momento
cepit signo dato, ut omnes puberes interficerentur.
Quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope necessarium
cognitum ipso eventu est: cui enim parci potuit ex 4
his, qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis domos
super se ipsos concremaverunt, aut armati nullum ante
finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt? Captum **15**
oppidum est cum ingenti praeda. Quamquam pleraque
ab dominis de industria corrupta erant, et in caedibus
vix ullum discrimen aetatis ira fecerat, et captivi mili-
tum praeda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum vendi- 2
tarum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse constat et
multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque missam
Carthaginem.

Octavo mense, quam coeptum oppugnari, captum 3
Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem novam
in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde
mense, quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam
pervenisse. Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit, ut P. 4
Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et
principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint, et
qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum

amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint.
5 Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non coeptum oppugnari est, sed captum.
6 Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servili et C. Flamini non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

16 Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Carthagine, Romam rettulerunt omnia hostilia esse,
2 et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; tantusque simul maeror patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si iam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent:
3 nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosioremque secum congressum, nec rem Romanam tam desidem umquam
4 fuisse atque inbellem. Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios lacessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belli-
5 geratum; Poenum hostem veteranum, trium et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo adsuetum, recentem ab
6 excidio opulentissimae urbis, Hiberum transire; trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos; conciturum avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes. Cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse.

17 Nominatae iam antea consulibus provinciae erant;

tum sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa
cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretae legi- 2
ones et socium quantum ipsis videretur, et classis
quanta parari posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum 3
Romanorum milia scripta et mille octingenti equites,
sociorum quadraginta milia peditum quattuor milia et
quadringenti equites; naves ducentae viginti quin-
queremes, celoces viginti deducti. Latum inde ad 4
populum, vellent iuberent populo Carthaginiensi bel-
lum indici; eiusque belli causa supplicatio per urbem
habita atque adorati di, ut bene ac feliciter eveniret
quod bellum populus Romanus iussisset. Inter con- 5
sules ita copiae divisae: Sempronio datae legiones
duae — ea quaterna milia erant peditum et treceni
equites — et sociorum sedecim milia peditum, equites
mille octingenti, naves longae centum sexaginta, celoces
duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque copiis 6
Ti. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam
transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia Poenum consul
alter satis esset. Cornelio minus copiarum datum, 7
quia L. Manlius praetor et ipse cum haud invalido
praesidio in Galliam mittebatur; navium maxime 8
Cornelio numerus deminutus: sexaginta quinqueremes
datae — neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli
dimicaturum hostem credebant — et duae Romanae
legiones cum suo iusto equitatu et quattuordecim mili-
bus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sescentis. Duas 9
legiones Romanas et decem milia sociorum peditum,
mille equites socios sescentos Romanos Gallia provin-
cia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum fie- 18
rent, legatos maiores natu, Q. Fabium M. Livium L.

Aemilium C. Licinium Q. Baebium, in Africam mittunt ad percunctandos Carthaginienses, publicone con-
2 silio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et, si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi
3 bellum. Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod mandatum erat, percunctatus esset, tum
4 ex Carthaginiensibus unus: "Praeceps vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis; ceterum haec legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior.
5 Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur, et ut a
6 confessis res extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem non, privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit,
7 quaerendum censeam, sed utrum iure an iniuria: nostra enim haec quaestio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne per foedus
8 fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placet, quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatio consule ictum, in quo cum caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis
9 — necdum enim erant socii vestri — cautum est. At enim eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dic-
10 turus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici. Vos enim, quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus icit, quia neque *ex* auctoritate patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri: itaque aliud de integro
11 foedus publico consilio ictum est. Si vos non tenent

foedera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis foedus, quod nobis insciis icit, obligare potuit. Proinde omittite Sagunti atque
Hiberi mentionem facere, et, quod diu parturit animus 12
vester, aliquando pariat." Tum Romanus sinu ex 13
toga facto "hic" inquit "vobis bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet, sumite." Sub hanc vocem haud 14
minus ferociter, daret, utrum vellet, subclamatum est. Et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et, quibus acciperent animis, iisdem se gesturos.

Haec derecta percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis **19**
ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum iure verbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto
excisa. Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid 2
foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutati priore foedere, quod
mutatum est, conparandum erat? Cum in Lutati foe- 3
dere diserte additum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo conprobatum sit foedus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore
quicquam mutaretur. Quamquam, etsi priore foedere 4
staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis. Nam neque additum erat "iis, qui tunc
essent" nec "ne qui postea adsumerentur"; et cum 5
adsumere novos liceret socios, quis aecum censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi, aut receptos in fidem non defendi? tantum ne Carthaginiensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua sponte desciscentes reciperentur.

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae impe- 6
ratum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates, ut in

societatem perlicerent aut averterent a Poenis, traiece-
7 runt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt; a quibus be-
nigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos
trans Hiberum populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae
8 erexerunt. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum
celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab
societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu
9 ex iis in concilio respondit: "Quae verecundia est,
Romani, postulare vos, uti vestram Carthaginiensium
amicitiae praeponamus, cum, qui id fecerunt [Sagun-
tini], crudelius, quam Poenus hostis perdidit, vos socii
10 prodideritis? ibi quaeratis socios, censeo, ubi Sagun-
tina clades ignota est; Hispanis populis sicut lugubre
ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinae erunt, ne quis
11 fidei Romanae aut societati confidat." Inde extemplo
abire finibus Volcianorum iussi ab nullo deinde con-
cilio Hispaniae benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequi-
quam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt.

20 In his nova terribilisque species visa est, quod
armati — ita mos gentis erat — in concilium venerunt.
2 Cum verbis extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi
Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Poeno
bellum Italiae inferenti per agros urbesque suas tran-
3 situm darent, tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus,
ut vix a magistratibus maioribusque natu iuventus
4 sedaretur; adeo stolida inpudensque postulatio visa
est, censere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum,
ipsos id avertere in se agrosque suos pro alienis popu-
5 landos obicere. Sedato tandem fremitu responsum
legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meritum esse
neque Carthaginiensium iniuriam, ob quae aut pro
6 Romanis aut adversus Poenos sumant arma; contra

ea audire sese, gentis suae homines agro finibusque
Italiae pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque pendere
et cetera indigna pati. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae 7
conciliis dicta auditaque; nec hospitale quicquam pa-
catumve satis prius auditum quam Massiliam venere.
Ibi omnia ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita, 8
praeoccupatos iam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos
esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore
— adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse —, ni
subinde auro, cuius avidissima gens est, principum
animi concilientur. Ita peragratis Hispaniae et Gal- 9
liae populis legati Romam redeunt haud ita multo
post, quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civi-
tatem omnem expectatione belli erectam invenerunt,
satis constante fama iam Hiberum Poenos transisse.

Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem novam in **21**
hiberna concesserat ibique auditis, quae Romae quae-
que Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non
ducem solum sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis 2
divenditisque reliquiis praedae nihil ultra differendum
ratus Hispani generis milites convocat. "Credo ego 3
vos" inquit, "socii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus
Hispaniae populis aut finiendam nobis militiam exer-
citusque dimittendos esse, aut in alias terras transfe-
rendum bellum; ita enim hae gentes non pacis solum 4
sed etiam victoriae bonis florebunt, si ex aliis gentibus
praedam et gloriam quaeremus. Itaque cum longinqua 5
a domo instet militia, incertumque sit, quando domos
vestras et quae cuique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis
vestrum suos invisere volt, commeatum do. Primo 6
vere edico adsitis, ut dis bene iuvantibus bellum
ingentis gloriae praedaeque futurum incipiamus."

7 Omnibus fere visendi domos oblata ultro potestas
grata erat, et iam desiderantibus suos et longius in
8 futurum providentibus desiderium. Per totum tempus
hiemis quies inter labores aut iam exhaustos aut mox
exhauriendos renovavit corpora animosque ad omnia
de integro patienda. Vere primo ad edictum convenere.
9 Hannibal, cum recensuisset omnium gentium au-
xilia, Gadis profectus Herculi vota exsolvit novisque se
10 obligat votis, si cetera prospere evenissent. Inde par-
tiens curas simul *in* inferendum atque arcendum bel-
lum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque
itinere Italiam peteret, nuda apertaque Romanis Africa
ab Sicilia esset, valido praesidio firmare eam statuit.
11 Pro eo supplementum ipse ex Africa maxime iaculato-
rum, levium armis, petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, *Hispani*
in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles,
velut mutuis pigneribus obligati, stipendia facerent.
12 Tredecim milia octingentos quinquaginta pedites cae-
tratos misit in Africam et funditores Baliares octin-
gentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus
13 mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini prae-
sidio esse, partim distribui per Africam iubet. Simul
conquisitoribus in civitates missis quattuor milia con-
scripta delectae iuventutis, praesidium eosdem et ob-
22 sides, duci Carthaginem iubet. Neque Hispaniam
neglegendam ratus, atque id eo minus, quod haud
ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad
2 sollicitandos principum animos, Hasdrubali fratri, viro
inpigro, eam provinciam destinat, firmatque Africis
maxime praesidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim milibus
octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Baliari-
3 bus *quingentis*. Ad haec peditum auxilia additi equites

Libyphoenices, mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti *quinquaginta* et Numidae Maurique, accolae Oceani, ad mille octingenti et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, trecenti equites et, ne quod terrestris
deesset auxilii genus, elephanti viginti unus. Classis 4
praeterea data ad tuendam maritumam oram, quia, qua parte belli vicerant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque.

Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus redit; 5
atque inde profectus praeter Onussam urbem ad Hiberum [arituma ora] ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete 6
visum ab eo iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum; proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos.
Pavidum primo nusquam circumspicientem aut respi- 7
cientem secutum; deinde cura ingenii humani, cum, quidnam id esset, quod respicere vetitus esset, agitaret
animo, temperare oculis nequivisse; tum vidisse post 8
sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri ac post insequi cum fragore
caeli nimbum. Tum, quae moles ea quidve prodigii 9
esset, quaerentem audisse vastitatem Italiae esse: pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto esse.

Hoc visu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit **23**
praemissis, qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim
milia equitum Hiberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bar- 2

gusiosque et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam, quae subiecta
Pyrenaeis montibus est, subegit, oraeque huic omni
praefecit Hannonem, ut fauces, quae Hispanias Galliis
3 iungunt, in potestate essent. Decem milia peditum
Hannoni ad praesidium obtinendae regionis data et
4 mille equites. Postquam per Pyrenaeum saltum tra-
duci exercitus est coeptus, rumorque per barbaros
manavit certior de bello Romano, tria milia inde Car-
petanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat non
tam bello motos quam longinquitate viae inexsupera-
5 bilique Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut
vi retinere eos anceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces
6 animi inritarentur, supra septem milia hominum domos
remisit, quos et ipsos gravari militia senserat, Carpe-
24 tanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans. Inde, ne mora
atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis
Pyrenaeum transgreditur et ad oppidum Iliberri castra
2 locat. Galli, quamquam Italiae bellum inferri audie-
bant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenaeum Hi-
spanos fama erat praesidiaque valida inposita, metu
servitutis ad arma consternati, Ruscinonem aliquot
3 populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum
est, moram magis quam bellum metuens oratores ad
regulos eorum misit: conloqui semet ipsum cum iis
velle, et vel illi propius Iliberrim accederent, vel se
Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus
4 facilior esset; nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se
laetum, nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum.
Hospitem enim se Galliae non hostem advenisse, nec
stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in
5 Italiam venisset. Et per nuntios quidem haec; ut
vero reguli Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo

motis haud gravate ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis
cum bona pace exercitum per finis suos praeter Rusci-
nonem oppidum transmiserunt.

In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum trans- 25
isse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam per-
latum erat, cum, perinde ac si Alpis iam transisset,
Boi sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob 2
veteres in populum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper
circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in
agrum Gallicum deductas aegre patiebantur. Itaque 3
armis repente arreptis in eum ipsum agrum impetu
facto tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non
agrestis modo multitudo sed ipsi triumviri Romani,
qui ad agrum venerant adsignandum, diffisi Placentiae
moenibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius C. Servi-
lius M. Annius. Lutati nomen haud dubium est; pro 4
Annio Servilioque M'. Acilium et C. Herennium habent
quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papi-
rium Masonem. Id quoque incertum est, legati ad 5
expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in tri-
umviros agrum metantis impetus sit factus. Mutinae 6
cum obsiderentur, et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium
artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis
intactis adsideret muris, simulari coeptum de pace agi,
evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad conlo- 7
quium non contra ius modo gentium sed violata etiam,
quae data in id tempus erat, fide conprehenduntur,
negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi redderentur, eos
dimissuros. Cum haec de legatis nuntiata essent, et 8
Mutina praesidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius
praetor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit.
Silvae tunc circa viam erant plerisque incultis. Ibi 9

inexplorato profectus in insidias praecipitatur, multa-
que cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos emersit.
10 Ibi castra communita, et quia Gallis ad temptanda ea
defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad
11 *sescentos* cecidisse satis constabat. Iter deinde de
integro coeptum, nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur
12 agmen, apparuit hostis; ubi rursus silvae intratae, tum
postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pavore
omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa
13 ademere. Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit
Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque inpedito evasere. Inde
apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum,
14 vicum propincum Pado, contendere. Ibi se munimento
ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum
etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies
26 multitudinem hostium tutabantur. Qui tumultus re-
pens postquam est Romam perlatus, et Punicum insuper
2 Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt, C. Atilium
praetorem cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus
sociorum dilectu novo a consule conscriptis auxilium
ferre Manlio iubent, qui sine ullo certamine — absces-
serant enim metu hostes — Tannetum pervenit.

3 Et P. Cornelius in locum eius, quae missa cum
praetore erat, scripta legione nova profectus ab urbe
sexaginta longis navibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligu-
rumque et inde Salluvium montis pervenit Massiliam,
4 et ad proximum ostium Rhodani — pluribus enim divi-
sus amnis in mare decurrit — castra locat, vixdum
satis credens Hannibalem superasse Pyrenaeos montis.
5 Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animad-
vertit, incertus, quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum
satis refectis ab iactatione marituma militibus, trecen-

tos interim delectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et
auxiliaribus Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque
ex tuto hostes praemittit. Hannibal ceteris metu aut 6
pretio pacatis iam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum,
gentis validae. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam
Rhodani; sed diffisi citeriore agro arceri Poenum
posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus
ferme suis trans Rhodanum traiectis ulteriorem ripam
[amnis] armis obtinebant. Ceteros accolas fluminis 7
Hannibal et eorum ipsorum, quos sedes suae tenuerant,
simul perlicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas
fabricandasque, simul et ipsi traici exercitum levarique
quam primum regionem suam tanta hominum urgente
turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est 8
lintriumque temere ad vicinalem usum paratarum;
novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes cavabant ex
singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi milites simul copia 9
materiae simul facilitate operis inducti alveos in-
formes, nihil, dummodo innare aquae et capere onera
possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se suaque transvehe-
rent, faciebant.

Iamque omnibus satis conparatis ad traiciendum **27**
terrebant ex adverso hostes omnem ripam equites viri-
que obtinentes. Quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomil- 2
caris filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum,
maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei
iubet et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime traiecto 3
amni circumducere agmen, ut, cum opus facto sit, ado-
riatur ab tergo hostes. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, 4
inde milia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvae insu-
lae circumfusum amnem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque
minus alto alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim 5

caesa materia ratesque fabricatae, in quibus equi viri-
que et alia onera traicerentur. Hispani sine ulla mole
in utris vestimentis coniectis ipsi caetris superpositis
6 incubantes flumen tranavere. Et alius exercitus rati-
bus iunctis traiectus, castris prope flumen positis, noc-
turno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius
diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune
7 exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex loco edito fumo
significant transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi
accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad
8 traiciendum. Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes
lintres, eques fere propter equos naves. Navium ag-
men ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte
superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra traicienti-
9 bus lintribus praebebat. Equorum pars magna nantes
loris a puppibus trahebantur praeter eos, quos instratos
frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui
essent, inposuerant in naves.

28 Galli occursant in ripa cum variis ululatibus cantu-
que moris sui quatientes scuta super capita vibran-
2 tesque dextris tela, quamquam et ex adverso terrebat
tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore
vario nautarum militum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere
impetum fluminis, et qui ex altera ripa traicientes
3 suos hortabantur. Iam satis paventes adverso tumultu
terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor castris ab Hannone
captis. Mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror circum-
stabat et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram
4 evadente et ab tergo inprovisa premente acie. Galli
postquam utroque vim facere conati pellebantur, qua
patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt trepidique in
vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal ceteris copiis

per otium traiectis, spernens iam Gallicos tumultus,
castra locat.

Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisse 5
credo, certe variat memoria actae rei. Quidam con-
gregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex
iis inritatum ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam
sequeretur, nantem traxisse gregem, ut quemque timen-
tem altitudinem destitueret vadum, impetu ipso flumi-
nis in alteram ripam rapiente. Ceterum magis constat 6
ratibus traiectos; id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret,
ita acta re ad fidem pronius est. Ratem unam ducen- 7
tos longam pedes quinquaginta latam a terra in amnem
porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluri-
bus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae religatam
pontis in modum humo iniecta constraverunt, ut be-
luae audacter velut per solum ingrederentur. Altera 8
ratis aeque lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum
flumen apta, huic copulata est; tum elephanti per
stabilem ratem tamquam viam praegredientibus femi-
nis acti ubi in minorem applicatam transgressi sunt,
extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter adnexa erat, vin- 9
culis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam
pertrahitur. Ita primis expositis alii deinde repetiti 10
ac traiecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec conti-
nenti velut ponte agerentur; primus erat pavor, cum
soluta ab ceteris rate in altum raperentur. Ibi urgen- 11
tes inter se cedentibus extremis ab aqua trepidationis
aliquantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor cir-
cumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam sae- 12
vientes quidam in flumen, sed pondere ipso stabiles
deiectis rectoribus quaerendis pedetentim vadis in ter-
ram evasere.

29 Dum elephanti traiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numi-
das equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat
speculatum, ubi et quantae copiae essent et quid para-
2 rent. Huic alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab
ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt.
Proelium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium edi-
3 tur; nam praeter multa vulnera caedes etiam prope
par utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum
Romanis iam admodum fessis victoriam dedit. Vic-
tores ad centum sexaginta, nec omnes Romani, sed
4 pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc
principium simul omenque belli ut summae rerum
prosperum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipi-
5 tisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit. Ut
re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec
Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis
6 coeptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hanniba-
lem incertum, utrum coeptum in Italiam intenderet
iter, an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus
exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a praesenti cer-
tamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus,
qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore adfirmantes
integro bello, nusquam ante libatis viribus Italiam
7 adgrediendam censent. Multitudo timebat quidem
hostem nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli,
sed magis iter inmensum Alpesque, rem fama utique
inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

30 Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit per-
gere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata contione varie
militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque:
2 mirari se, quinam pectora semper impavida repens
terror invaserit. Per tot annos vincentis eos stipendia

facere, neque ante Hispania excessisse, quam omnes
gentesque et terrae, quas duo diversa maria amplec-
tantur, Carthaginiensium essent. Indignatos deinde, 3
quod, quicumque Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob no-
xam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Hiberum
traiecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberan-
dumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id lon- 4
gum, cum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter;
nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emen- 5
sam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter ferocissimas
gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot
milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius
fluminis vi traiectum, in conspectu Alpis habeant, qua-
rum alterum latus Italiae sit, in ipsis portis hostium
fatigatos subsistere — quid Alpis aliud esse credentes 6
quam montium altitudines? Fingerent altiores Pyre- 7
naei iugis; nullas profecto terras caelum contingere
nec *in*exsuperabiles humano generi esse. Alpis quidem
habitari coli, gignere atque alere animantes; pervias
paucis esse, *pervias* exercitibus. Eos ipsos, quos cer- 8
nant, legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpis trans-
gressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas, sed
advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpis ingentibus
saepe agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus migrantium
modo tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato nihil 9
secum praeter instrumenta belli portanti quid invium
aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid
per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse?
Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam 10
adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum
moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quae adiri 11
posse Poenus desperet! proinde aut cederent animo

atque virtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se victae,
aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi
ac moenibus Romanis.

31 His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque
2 ad iter se parare iubet. Postero die profectus adversa
ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rec-
tior ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset,
3 minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, prius-
quam in Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo
4 manus conserere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit.
Ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus de-
currentes agri aliquantum amplexi confluunt in unum;
5 mediis campis Insulae nomen inditum. Incolunt prope
Allobroges, gens iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus
6 aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat. Regni certamine
ambigebant fratres. Maior et qui prius imperitarat,
Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et coetu iuniorum,
7 qui iure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Huius
seditionis peropportuna disceptatio cum ad Hanniba-
lem delegata esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea sena-
tus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium maiori
8 restituit. Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum
omnium, maxime vestis, est adiutus, quam infames
frigoribus Alpes praeparari cogebant.

9 Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum cum iam
Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit, sed ad
laevam in Tricastinos flexit: inde per extremam oram
Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, haud usquam
impedita via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen perve-
10 nit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae
fluminum difficillimus transitu est; nam, cum aquae
11 vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est,

quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque iisdem
alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque *gignit* gur-
gites. Et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est; ad
hoc saxa glareosa volvens nihil stabile nec tutum
ingredienti praebet. Et tum forte imbribus auctus 12
ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, cum super
cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus
turbarentur.

P. Cornelius consul triduo fere post, quam Hanni- **32**
bal a ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra
hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi moram facturus.
Ceterum ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum 2
praegressos adsecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves rediit,
tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali
occursurus. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hi- 3
spania esset, quam provinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Sci-
pionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus
Hasdrubalem misit, non ad tuendos tantummodo vete- 4
res socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam ad pellen-
dum Hispania Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum admodum 5
exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo *qui* circa Padum
erat exercitus Italiam defensurus.

Hannibal a Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad 6
Alpis cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum
pervenit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta 7
in maius vero ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen
ex propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo
prope inmixtae, tecta informia inposita rupibus, pecora
iumentaque torpida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti,
animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu
quam dictu foediora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigenti- 8
bus in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt inminentes

tumulos insidentes montani, qui, si valles occultiores
insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam
9 stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa ius-
sit; Gallisque ad visenda loca praemissis postquam
conperit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa
omnia praeruptaque quam extentissima potest valle
10 locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum
lingua moribusque abhorrentis, cum se inmiscuissent
conloquiis montanorum, edoctus interdiu tantum obsi-
deri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce
prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu vim
11 per angustias facturus. Die deinde simulando aliud,
12 quam quod parabatur, consumpto cum eodem, quo
constiterant, loco castra communissent, ubi primum
digressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custo-
dias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium
in speciem factis inpedimentisque cum equite relictis
13 et maxima parte peditum ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo
quoque viro, raptim angustias evadit iisque ipsis tu-
mulis, quos hostes tenuerant, consedit.

33 Prima deinde luce castra mota, et agmen relicum
2 incedere coepit. Iam montani signo dato ex castellis
ad stationem solitam conveniebant, cum repente con-
spiciunt alios arce occupata sua super caput inminen-
3 tis, alios via transire hostis. Utraque simul obiecta
res oculis animisque inmobiles parumper eos defixit;
deinde, ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum
4 tumultu misceri agmen videre, equis maxime conster-
natis, quidquid adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perni-
ciem fore rati, diversis rupibus iuxta in vias ac devia
5 adsueti decurrunt. Tum vero simul ab hostibus simul
ab iniquitate locorum Poeni oppugnabantur, plusque

inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente, ut periculo primus
evaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. Equi 6
maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus
dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussaeque valles
augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vulne-
rati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul
hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent: mul- 7
tosque turba, cum praecipites deruptaeque utrimque
angustiae essent, in inmensum altitudinis deiecit, quos-
dam et armatos; sed ruinae maxime modo iumenta
cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quae quamquam foeda 8
visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos
continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret.
Deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculum- 9
que esse, ne exutum inpedimentis exercitum nequi-
quam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore
loco, et cum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque
tumultum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, 10
postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, se-
datur; nec per otium modo sed prope silentio mox
omnes traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput eius 11
regionis erat, viculosque circumiectos capit, et captivo
cibo ac pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit; et quia
nec *a* montanis primo perculsis nec loco magno opere
inpediebantur, aliquantum eo triduo viae confecit.

34 Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut
inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed
suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circumventus.
Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum 2
veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memo-
rantes amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poenorum;
itaque oboedienter imperata facturos; commeatum iti- 3

nerisque duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides accipe-
4 ret. Hannibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandum
ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne cum
respondisset, obsidibus, quos dabant, acceptis et com-
meatu, quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus nequaquam
ut inter pacatos conposito agmine duces eorum sequi-
5 tur. Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant, ipse
post cum robore peditum circumspectans omnia solli-
6 citusque incedebat. Ubi in angustiorem viam et parte
altera subiectam iugo insuper inminenti ventum est,
undique ex insidiis barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti
comminus eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen de-
7 volvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat. In
eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi
firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu
8 accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum
periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est. Nam dum
cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias,
quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio erat, ita pedi-
9 tibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliquerat, occursantes
per obliqua montani interrupto medio agmine viam
insedere; noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque
35 inpedimentis acta est. Postero die iam segnius inter-
cursantibus barbaris iunctae copiae saltusque haud
sine clade, maiore tamen iumentorum quam hominum
2 pernicie superatus. Inde montani pauciores iam et
latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant modo
in primum modo in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut
locus opportunitatem daret, aut progressi morative ali-
3 quam occasionem fecissent. Elephanti, sicut per artas
praecipites vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab
hostibus, quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi
propius metus erat, agmen praebebant.

Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia 4
pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi
fides iis non esset, temere initae valles a coniectantibus
iter faciebant. Biduum in iugo stativa habita, fessis- 5
que labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumen-
taque aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo
vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis taedio 6
tot malorum nivis etiam casus occidente iam sidere
Vergiliarum ingentem terrorem adiecit. Per omnia 7
nive oppleta cum signis prima luce motis segniter
agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium
vultu emineret, praegressus signa Hannibal in pro- 8
munturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat,
consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat subiectos-
que Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, moenia- 9
que eos tum transcendere non Italiae modo sed etiam
urbis Romanae; cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut
summum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu
ac potestate habituros. Procedere inde agmen coepit, 10
iam nihil ne hostibus quidem praeter parva furta per
occasionem temptantibus. Ceterum iter multo, quam 11
in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut
breviora ita arrectiora sunt, difficilius fuit. Omnis 12
enim ferme via praeceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut
neque sustinere se a lapsu possent, nec, qui paulum
titubassent, haerere adflicti vestigio suo, aliique super
alios et iumenta in homines occiderent.

Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem atque 36
ita rectis saxis, ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus
manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes
demittere sese posset. Natura locus iam ante prae- 2
ceps recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum

3 altitudinem abruptus erat. Ibi cum velut ad finem
viae equites constitissent, miranti Hannibali, quae
res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur rupem inviam esse.
4 Digressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum. Haud
dubia res visa, quin per invia circa nec trita antea
5 quamvis longo ambitu circumduceret agmen. Ea vero
via inexsuperabilis fuit; nam cum super veterem nivem
intactam nova modicae altitudinis esset, molli nec
6 praealtae facile pedes ingredientium insistebant; ut
vero tot hominum iumentorumque incessu dilapsa est,
per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem lique-
7 scentis nivis ingrediebantur. Taetra ibi luctatio erat
lubrica glacie non recipiente vestigium et in prono
citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo
seu genu se adiuvissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis
iterum corruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad
quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant: ita
in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur.
8 Iumenta secabant interdum etiam infimam ingredientia
nivem, et prolapsa iactandis gravius in conitendo un-
gulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque velut pedica
capta haererent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

37 Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominibus fati-
gatis castra in iugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco
purgato; tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum
2 fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam
via esse poterat, milites ducti, cum caedendum esset
saxum, arboribus circa inmanibus deiectis detruncatis-
que struem ingentem lignorum faciunt eamque, cum
et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succen-
3 dunt ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita
torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt molliuntque

anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta solum sed
elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quadriduum circa 4
rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumptis;
nuda enim fere cacumina sunt, et si quid est pabuli, 5
obruunt nives. Inferiora valles apricosque colles ha-
bent rivosque prope silvas et iam humano cultu di-
gniora loca. Ibi iumenta in pabulum missa, et quies 6
muniendo fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde ad
planum descensum iam et locis mollioribus et accola-
rum ingeniis.

Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum est, quinto **38**
mense a Carthagine nova, ut quidam auctores sunt,
quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantae copiae 2
transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam
inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum milia
peditum viginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui mini-
mum, viginti milia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius 3
Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, ma-
xime auctor moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis
Liguribusque additis; cum his octoginta milia peditum, 4
decem equitum adducta — in Italia magis adfluxisse
veri simile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt —; ex 5
ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum
transierit, triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque
numerum equorum et aliorum iumentorum amisisse.
Taurini Semigalli proxuma gens erat in Italiam de-
gresso. † Id cum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror 6
ambigi, quanam Alpis transierit, et vulgo credere Poe-
nino — atque inde nomen ei iugo Alpium inditum —
transgressum, Coelium per Cremonis iugum dicere 7
transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos, sed
per Salassos Montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent.

8 Nec veri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera;
utique, quae ad Poeninum ferunt, obsaepta gentibus
9 semigermanis fuissent. Neque hercule montibus his,
si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum ullo
Seduni Veragri, incolae iugi eius, *nomen* norint indi-
tum, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice
Poeninum montani appellant.

39 Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis [proxi-
mae genti] adversus Insubres motum bellum erat.
Sed armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio
esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante
2 mala, non poterat; otium enim ex labore, copia ex
inopia, cultus ex inluvie tabeque squalida et prope
3 efferata corpora varie movebat. Ea P. Cornelio con-
suli causa fuit, cum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a
Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominiis
trepido, ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum
4 refecto manus consereret. Sed cum Placentiam consul
venit, iam ex stativis moverat Hannibal Taurinorum-
que unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volens in
5 amicitiam non veniebat, vi expugnarat; *ac* iunxisset
sibi non metu solum sed etiam voluntate Gallos acco-
las Padi, ni eos circumspectantis defectionis tempus
6 subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal
movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quae pars sequenda esset,
7 Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus. Iam prope
in conspectu erant exercitus, convenerantque duces
sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita iam inbutus uter-
8 que quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis et
apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberri-
mum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod
adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, praestantem

virum credebat; et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, 9
quod relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat in Italiam trans-
gresso Hannibali, *Hannibal* et conatu tam audaci trai-
ciendarum Alpium et effectu.

Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum traicere, et ad Tici- 10
num amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in
aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem
est exorsus. "Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem **40**
in aciem, quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem
loqui apud vos; quid enim adhortari referret aut eos 2
equites, qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen
egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, cum quibus fugien-
tem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis
ac detractantis certamen pro victoria habui? Nunc, 3
quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae provinciae scriptus, ibi
cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi
eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit, ego,
ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Poenos 4
haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli,
novo imperatori apud novos milites pauca verba faci-
enda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum 5
iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique
priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti
annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli praemia Siciliam
ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is 6
vobis illisque animus, qui victoribus et victis esse
solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, 7
pugnaturi sunt; nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi
pugnam detractavere, eos duabus partibus peditum
equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis [qui plures
paene perierint quam supersint] plus spei nactos esse.
At enim pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis cor- 8

poribusque, quorum robora ac vires vix sustinere vis
9 ulla possit. Effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame
frigore, inluvie squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati
inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praeusti artus, nive ri-
gentes nervi, membra torpida gelu, quassata fractaque
10 arma, claudi ac debiles equi. Cum hoc equite, cum
hoc pedite pugnaturi estis, reliquias extremas hostium,
non hostem habetis. Ac nihil magis vereor, quam ne,
cum vos pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem vide-
11 antur. Sed ita forsitan decuerit, cum foederum ruptore
duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope com-
mittere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos
violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere."

41 "Non vereor, ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi
causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo
2 adfectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam,
quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et
fratrem consilii participem ac periculi socium haberem,
et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem, et
3 minorem haud dubie molem belli; tamen, cum prae-
terveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius
hostis in terram egressus praemisso equitatu ad Rho-
4 danum movi castra. Equestri proelio, qua parte copia-
rum conserendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi;
peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim
agebatur, quia adsequi terra nequieram, regressus ad
navis, quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris
terrarumque circuitu in radicibus prope Alpium huic
5 timendo hosti obvius fui. Utrum, cum declinarem
certamen, inprovidus incidisse videor, an occurrere in
vestigiis eius, lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum?
6 Experiri iuvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginienses

per viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint, qui ad
Aegatis pugnaverunt insulas, et quos ab Eryce duode-
vicenis denariis aestimatos emisistis, et utrum Hanni- 7
bal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an
vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a
patre relictus. Quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitaret, 8
respiceret profecto si non patriam victam, domum
certe patremque et foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu,
qui iussus ab consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab
Eryce, qui graves inpositas victis Carthaginiensibus 9
leges fremens maerensque accepit, qui decedens Sicilia
stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. Itaque 10
vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo adversus
alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum indigna-
tione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros
arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem 11
clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame interficere;
licuit victricem classem in Africam traicere atque
intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem
delere —: veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex 12
obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde
nostrae duximus, cum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro 13
his inpertitis furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugna-
tum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro
decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset cer-
tamen! non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de 14
quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est
pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, 15
nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt,
quas dum superant, conparari nova possint praesidia.
Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana
moenia pugnemus. Unus quisque se non corpus suum, 16

sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet;
nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed identidem hoc
animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum
17 populumque Romanum; qualis nostra vis virtusque
fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani
imperii fore." Haec apud Romanos consul.

42 Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos mili-
tes ratus circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu captivos
montanos vinctos in medio statuit, armisque Gallicis
ante pedes eorum proiectis interrogare interpretem
iussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum
2 victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. Cum ad unum
omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent, et deiecta in id
sors esset, se quisque eum optabat, quem fortuna in id
3 certamen legeret, cuiusque sors exciderat, alacer inter
gratulantes gaudio exultans cum sui moris tripudiis
arma raptim capiebat. Ubi vero dimicarent, is habitus
animorum non inter eiusdem modo condicionis homines
4 erat, sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincen-
tium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

43 Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus adfectos dimisis-
set, contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus fertur:
2 "Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo
ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna
vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites; neque enim spec-
taculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae
3 condicionis erat. Ac nescio an maiora vincula maiores-
que necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna
4 circumdederit; dextra laevaque duo maria claudunt
nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentibus;
circa Padus amnis, maior Padus ac violentior Rhodano;
ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus

transitae. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, 5
ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quae
necessitatem pugnandi inposuit, praemia vobis ea vic-
toribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines ne ab dis
quidem inmortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tan- 6
tum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra
virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia
essent; *nunc*, quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum
congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis
dominis futurum est. In hanc tam opimam mercedem, 7
agite dum, dis bene iuvantibus arma capite. Satis 8
adhuc in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus
pecora consectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum
periculorumque vestrorum vidistis; tempus est iam 9
opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae
pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes flumi-
naque et tot armatas gentes emensos. Hic vobis ter- 10
minum laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem
emeritis stipendiis dabit."

"Nec quam magni nominis bellum est, tam diffici- 11
lem existimaritis victoriam fore; saepe et contemptus
hostis cruentum certamen edidit, et incliti populi
regesque perlevi momento victi sunt. Nam dempto 12
hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani quid est, cur illi
vobis conparandi sint? Ut viginti annorum militiam 13
vestram cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab
Herculis columnis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis
terrarum per tot ferocissimos Hispaniae et Galliae
populos vincentes huc pervenistis; pugnabitis cum 14
exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso victo circum-
sesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique
ducem. An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi impera- 15

toris, prope natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hi-
spaniae Galliaeque, victorem eundem non Alpinarum
modo gentium sed ipsarum, quod multo maius est,
Alpium, cum semenstri hoc conferam duce, desertore
16 exercitus sui? Cui si quis demptis signis Poenos Ro-
manosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeo,
17 utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud parvi ae-
stimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum, cuius non ante
oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus,
cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata
18 temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum
laudatis a me miliens donatisque, alumnus prius
omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam *in* aciem
adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque."

44 "Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video
animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissi-
2 marum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos
socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthagini-
enses, cum *pro* patria tum ob iram iustissimam pugna-
3 turos. Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus
in Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam
hostis, quanto maior spes, maior est animus inferentis
4 vim quam arcentis. Accendit praeterea et stimulat
animos dolor iniuria indignitas. Ad supplicium depo-
poscerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes, qui
Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus
5 adfecturi fuerunt. Crudelissima ac superbissima gens
sua omnia suique arbitrii facit. Cum quibus bellum,
cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum inponere
aecum censet. Circumscribit includitque nos terminis
montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus; neque
6 eos, quos statuit, terminos observat. Ne transieris

Hiberum! ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis! At
liberum est Saguntum. Nusquam te vestigio moveris! 7
Parum est quod veterrimas provincias meas Siciliam
ac Sardiniam adimis? etiam *in* Hispanias, et, inde *si*
*de*cessero, in Africam transcendes? *transcendes* autem?
transcendisse dico. Duos consules huius anni, unum
in Africam alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil
usquam nobis relictum est, nisi quod armis vindicare-
mus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet, qui respectum 8
habent, quos sua terra, suus ager per tuta ac pacata
itinera fugientes accipient; vobis necesse est fortibus
viris esse et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa
desperatione abruptis aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubi-
tabit, in proelio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere.
Si hoc bene fixum omnibus, *si* destinatum animo est, 9
iterum dicam, vicistis: nullum contemptu *mortis telum*
ad vincendum homini ab dis inmortalibus acrius datum
est."

His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen ac- **45**
censi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum
iungunt tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper
inponunt; Poenus hostibus opere occupatis Maharba- 2
lem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad
depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit;
Gallis parci quam maxime iubet principumque animos 3
ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus
Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque milia
passuum a Victumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra 4
habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equi-
tibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam
satis dictum praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites
ratus, vocatis ad contionem certa praemia pronuntiat,

5 in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse
in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, inmunem
ipsi, qui accepisset, liberisque; qui pecuniam quam
6 agrum maluisset, ei se argento satisfacturum; qui
sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potesta-
tem facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se
operam, ne cuius suorum popularium mutatam secum
7 fortunam esse vellent. Servis quoque dominos prose-
cutis libertatem proponit binaque pro his mancipia
8 dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore,
agnum laeva manu, dextra silicem retinens, si falleret,
Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent, quem
ad modum ipse agnum mactasset, secundum preca-
9 tionem caput pecudis saxo elisit. Tum vero omnes,
velut dis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id
morae, quod nondum pugnarent, ad potienda sperata
rati proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

46 Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat,
2 super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis; nam
et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse in-
tactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio
3 inminente consederat. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum
equitatu iaculatoribusque ex peditibus profectus ad
castra hostium ex propinquo copiasque, quantae et
cuius generis essent, speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali
et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca pro-
4 gresso. Neutri alteros primo cernebant; densior deinde
incessu tot hominum *et* equorum oriens pulvis signum
propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque
5 agmen et *ad* proelium sese expediebant. Scipio iacu-
latores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos
sociorumque quod roboris fuit in subsidiis; Hannibal

frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis
firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato iaculatores fugerunt 6
inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum cer-
tamen erat aliquamdiu anceps, dein, quia turbabant
equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis
aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidis-
sent, iam magna ex parte ad *pe*des pugna venerat,
donec Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti 7
paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit
Romanos auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus pericu-
lumque intercursu tum primum pubescentis filii pro-
pulsatum. Hic erit iuvenis, penes quem perfecti 8
huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victo-
riam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. Fuga tamen 9
effusa iaculatorum maxume fuit, quos primos Numi-
dae invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in
medium acceptum non armis modo sed etiam corpori-
bus suis protegens in castra nusquam trepide neque
effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus Coelius 10
ad servum natione Ligurem delegat. Malim equidem
de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores,
et fama obtinuit.

Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit, quo **47**
facile apparuit equitatu meliorem Poenum esse, et ob
id campos patentis, quales sunt inter Padum Alpes-
que, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque 2
proxima nocte iussis militibus vasa silentio conligere
castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est, ut
ratibus, quibus iunxerat flumen, nondum resolutis sine
tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias traiceret.
Prius Placentiam pervenere, quam satis sciret Hanni- 3
bal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sescentos morato-

rum in citeriore ri*pa* Padi segniter ratem solventes
cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema reso-
luta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente.
4 Coelius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis
peditibus flumen extemplo tranasse, ipsum Hanniba-
lem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse
elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum flu-
5 minis oppositis. Ea peritis amnis eius vix fidem
fecerint; nam neque equites armis equisque salvis
tantam vim fluminis superasse veri simile est, ut iam
Hispanos omnes inflati travexerint utres, et multorum
dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerunt, qua exer-
6 citus gravis impedimentis traduci posset. Potiores
apud me auctores sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate
iungendo flumini inventum tradunt: ea cum Magone
7 equites *et* Hispanorum expeditos praemissos. Dum
Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audien-
dis moratus, traicit gravius peditum agmen, interim
Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei unius itinere
8 Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. Hannibal paucis
post diebus sex milia a Placentia castra communivit,
et postero die in conspectu hostium acie derecta pote-
statem pugnae fecit.

48 Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu
tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est.
2 Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites vigilibus ad
portas trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugiunt, quos
Poenus benigne adlocutus et spe ingentium donorum
accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos
3 popularium animos dimisit. Scipio caedem eam si-
gnum defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contac-
tosque eo scelere velut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros,

quamquam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta 4
vigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad
Trebiam fluvium iam *in* loca altiora collisque inpedi-
tiores equiti castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum 5
fefellit; missisque Hannibal primum Numidis deinde
omni equitatu turbasset utique novissimum agmen, ni
aviditate praedae in vacua Romana castra Numidae
devertissent. Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia ca- 6
strorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus terunt,
emissus hostis est de manibus, et cum iam trans-
gressos Trebiam Romanos metantisque castra con-
spexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen
interceptos. Scipio nec vexationem vulneris in via 7
iactati ultra patiens et collegam — iam enim et revo-
catum ex Sicilia audierat — ratus expectandum, locum,
qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delec-
tum communiit. Nec procul inde Hannibal cum con- 8
sedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum
anxius inopia, quae per hostium agros euntem nus-
quam praeparatis commeatibus maior in dies exci-
piebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti 9
numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi cum vim
pararent, spes facta proditionis; nec sane magno pre-
tio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino,
praefecto praesidii, corrupto traditur Hannibali Clasti-
dium. Id horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam.
In captivos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama clementiae 10
in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil saevitum est.

Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, inte- 49
rim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae inminentes et a
Sempronio consule et ante adventum eius terra mari-
que res gestae. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille arma- 2

tis ad depopulandam oram Italiae a Carthaginiensibus
missae, novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenue-
3 runt, tres in fretum avertit aestus. Ad eas conspectas
a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusa-
norum missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem
Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves
4 Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex capti-
vis, praeter viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in
Italiam missas quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes
5 Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lily-
baei occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere eadem
tempestate, qua ipsi disiecti forent, eam quoque clas-
6 sem ad Aegatis insulas deiectam. Haec, sicut audita
erant, rex M. Aemilio praetori, cuius Sicilia provincia
erat, perscribit monetque, Lilybaeum firmo teneret
7 praesidio. Extemplo et a praetore circa civitates
missi legati tribunique suos ad curam custodiae inten-
dere, et ante omnia Lilybaeum teneri apparatu belli,
edicto proposito, ut socii navales decem dierum cocta
8 cibaria ad naves deferrent, ut, ubi signum datum esset,
ne quid moram conscendendi faceret, perque omnem
oram, qui ex speculis prospicerent adventantem ho-
9 stium classem, dimissis. Itaque, quamquam de indu-
stria morati cursum navium erant Carthaginienses, ut
ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum, praesensum tamen
est, quia et luna pernox erat, et sublatis armamentis
10 veniebant; extemplo datum *signum* ex speculis et in
oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in naves conscen-
sum; pars militum in muris portarumque [in] sta-
11 tionibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Carthaginienses,
quia rem fore haud cum inparatis cernebant, usque
ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt, demendis armamentis

eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe absumpto.
Ubi inluxit, recepere classem in altum, ut spatium 12
pugnae esset exitumque liberum e portu naves ho-
stium haberent. Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam et 13
memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et
militum multitudine ac virtute. Ubi in altum evecti **50**
sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex propinquo
vires conferre velle; contra eludere Poenus et arte, 2
non vi rem gerere, naviumque quam virorum aut
armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis nava- 3
libus adfatim instructam classem, ita inopem milite
habebant; et, sicubi conserta navis esset, haudqua-
quam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat. Quod 4
ubi animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit
animum et paucitas illis minuit. Extemplo septem 5
naves Punicae circumventae, fugam ceterae ceperunt.
Mille et septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites nau-
taeque, in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis 6
Romana incolumis, una tantum perforata navi, sed ea
quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit.

Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius qui 7
Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam
venit. Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem *instruc-
tam* ornatamque obviam duxit transgressusque ex regia
in praetoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu 8
et navibus advenisse, precatusque prosperum ac feli-
cem in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde insulae et 9
Carthaginiensium conata exposuit pollicitusque est,
quo animo priore bello populum Romanum iuvenis
adiuvisset, eo senem adiuturum; frumentum vesti- 10
mentaque sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus
gratis praebiturum; grande periculum Lilybaeo mari-

tumisque civitatibus esse, et quibusdam volentibus
11 novas res fore. Ob haec consuli nihil cunctandum
visum, quin Lilybaeum classe peteret. Et rex regia-
que classis una profecti. Navigantes inde pugnatum
ad Lilybaeum fusasque et captas hostium naves acce-
51 pere. A Lilybaeo consul Hierone cum classe regia
dimisso relictoque praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram
ipse in insulam Melitam, quae a Carthaginiensibus
2 tenebatur, traiecit. Advenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis
filius, praefectus praesidii, cum paulo minus duobus
milibus militum oppidumque cum insula traditur.
Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum, captivique
et a consule et a praetore praeter insignes nobilitate
3 viros sub corona venierunt. Postquam ab ea parte
satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Vul-
cani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, traie-
cit; nec quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inventus.
4 Iam forte transmiserant ad vastandam Italiae oram,
depopulatoque Viboniensi agro urbem etiam terrebant.
5 Repetenti Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum
Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteraeque ab senatu de
transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque
tempore conlegae ferret auxilium, missae traduntur.
6 Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naves
inpositum Ariminum mari supero misit, Sexto Pom-
ponio legato cum viginti quinque longis navibus Vibo-
niensem agrum maritimamque oram Italiae tuendam
7 adtribuit, M. Aemilio praetori quinquaginta navium
classem explevit. Ipse compositis Siciliae rebus decem
navibus oram Italiae legens Ariminum pervenit. Inde
cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen con-
legae coniungitur.

Iam ambo consules et quidquid Romanarum virium **52**
erat Hannibali oppositum aut illis copiis defendi posse
Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis
declarabat. Tamen consul alter equestri proelio uno 2
et vulnere suo minutus trahi rem malebat; recentis
animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patieba-
tur. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est Galli 3
tum incolebant, in duorum praepotentium populorum
certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam
victoris spectantes. Id Romani, modo ne quid move- 4
rent, aequo satis, Poenus periniquo animo ferebat, ab
Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans.
Ob eam iram, simul ut praeda militem aleret, duo 5
milia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque,
mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps
agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit. Egentes ope Galli, 6
cum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab aucto-
ribus iniuriae ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque
ad consules missis auxilium Romanorum terrae ob
nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant.
Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agendae rei placebat, 7
suspectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa facinora,
tum, ut alia vetustate obsolevissent, ob recentem Boio-
rum perfidiam; Sempronius contra continendis in fide 8
sociis maximum vinculum esse primos, qui eguissent
ope, defensos censebat. Conlega cunctante equitatum 9
suum mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme admixtis ad
defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit.
Sparsos et inconpositos, ad hoc graves praeda pleros- 10
que cum inopinato invasissent, ingentem terrorem cae-
demque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium
fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsi rursus subsidio

11 suorum proelium restituere. Varia inde pugna se-
quentes *inter cedentes*que cum ad extremum aequassent
certamen, maior tamen hostium *caedes, penes* Romanos
fama victoriae fuit.

53 Ceterum nemini omnium maior iustiorque quam ipsi
consuli videri; gaudio efferri, qua parte copiarum alter
2 consul victus foret, ea se vicisse. Restitutos ac refectos
militibus animos, nec quemquam esse praeter conle-
gam, qui dilatam dimicationem vellet; eum animo
magis quam corpore aegrum memoria vulneris aciem
3 ac tela horrere. Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum.
Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? Quem
tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum expectari?
4 Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in con-
spectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam victis
ademptas, nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo
patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos.
5 "Quantum ingemiscant," inquit, "patres nostri circa
moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, pro-
geniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus,
in media Italia paventis intra castra, Poenum quod
inter Alpis Appenninumque agri sit suae dicionis
6 fecisse." Haec adsidens aegro conlegae, haec in prae-
torio prope contionabundus agere. Stimulabat et
tempus propincum comitiorum, ne in novos consules
bellum differretur, et occasio in se unum vertendae
7 gloriae, dum aeger conlega erat. Itaque nequiquam
dissentiente Cornelio parari ad propincum certamen
milites iubet.

Hannibal cum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret,
vix ullam spem habebat temere atque inprovide quic-
8 quam consules acturos; cum alterius ingenium, fama

prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse
ferociusque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis
certamine crederet, adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud
diffidebat. Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sol- 9
licitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset,
dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret,
dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem mul- 10
titudinem sciebat segnius secuturam, quanto longius
ab domo traherentur. Cum ob haec taliaque speraret 11
propincum certamen et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet,
speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda, quae vellet,
tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos
pugnae esse Romanos rettulissent, locum insidiis cir-
cumspectare Poenus coepit. Erat in medio rivus **54**
praealtis utrimque clausus ripis et circa obsitus palu-
stribus herbis et, quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, vir-
gultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo
satis latebrosum locum circumvectus ipse oculis per-
lustravit, "hic erit locus," Magoni fratri ait, "quem
teneas. Delige centenos viros ex omni pedite atque 2
equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias; nunc
corpora curare tempus est." Ita praetorium missum.
Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. "Robora virorum 3
cerno," inquit Hannibal; "sed uti numero etiam non
animis modo valeatis, singulis vobis novenos ex turmis
manipulisque vestri similes eligite. Mago locum mon-
strabit, quem insideatis; hostem caecum ad has belli
artes habetis." Ita Magone *cum* mille equitibus, mille 4
peditibus dimisso, Hannibal prima luce Numidas equi-
tes transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitare iubet
hostium portis iaculandoque *in* stationes elicere ad
pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certamine cedendo sen-

sim citra flumen pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis;
5 ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque praeceptum, ut
prandere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde instratisque
equis signum expectare.
6 Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum
omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex
milia peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum
7 iam ante consilio avidus certaminis eduxit. Erat forte
brumae tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Appen-
ninoque interiectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac
8 paludium praegelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis homi-
nibus atque equis non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla
ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et
quidquid aurae fluminis adpropinquabant, adflabat
9 acrior frigoris vis. Ut vero refugientes Numidas in-
sequentes aquam ingressi sunt — et erat pectoribus
tenus aucta nocturno imbri —, tum utique egressis
rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum
potentia esset, [et] simul lassitudine et procedente
55 iam die fame etiam deficere. Hannibalis interim miles
ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut
mollirent artus, misso et cibo per otium capto, ubi
transgressos flumen hostis nuntiatum est, alacer animis
corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit.
2 Baliares locat ante signa, levem armaturam, octe ferme
milia hominum, dein graviorem armis peditem, quod
virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit
decem milia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque par-
3 tem divisos elephantos statuit. Consul effuse sequentis
equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti
exciperentur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedit
4 peditibus. Duodeviginti milia Romana erant, socium

nominis Latini viginti, auxilia praeterea Cenomano-
rum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis
concursum est. Proelium a Baliaribus ortum est; 5
quibus cum maiore robore legiones obsisterent, diducta
propere in cornua levis armatura est, quae res effecit, 6
ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur; nam cum
vix iam per se resisterent decem milibus equitum
quattuor milia et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt
insuper velut nube iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta.
Ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab extremis cornibus, 7
equis maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito terri-
tis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis 8
magis quam viribus erat, quas recentis Poenus paulo
ante curatis corporibus in proelium adtulerat; contra
ieiuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpe-
bant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum pedite solum
foret pugnatum; sed et Baliares pulso equite iacula- 9
bantur in latera, et elephanti iam in mediam peditum
aciem sese tulerant, et Mago Numidaeque, simul late-
bras eorum inprovida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab
tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen 10
in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu inmota
acies, maxime praeter spem omnium adversus elephan-
tos. Eos velites ad *id* ipsum locati verutis coniectis 11
et avertere et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxume
molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant. Trepidantis- **56**
que *et* prope iam in suos consternatos *e* media acie in
extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxi-
liares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi extemplo haud dubiam
fecere fugam; novusque terror additus Romanis, ut
fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque cum iam in orbem 2
pugnarent, decem milia ferme hominum, cum alibi

evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, quae Gallicis
auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium per-
3 rupere et, cum neque in castra reditus esset flumine
interclusis, neque prae imbri satis decernere possent,
qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere per-
4 rexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones
factae; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti
sunt aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus
5 oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant,
vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam con-
tendere; aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi
flumen fecit, transgressique in castra pervenerunt.
6 Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homi-
nes multos et iumenta et elephantos prope omnis
7 absumpsit. Finis insequendi hostis Poenis flumen
Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut
8 vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent. Itaque nocte inse-
quenti, cum praesidium castrorum et quod relicum
sauciorum ex magna parte militum erat ratibus Tre-
biam traicerent, aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia,
9 aut, quia iam moveri nequibant prae lassitudine ac vul-
neribus, sentire sese dissimularunt; quietisque Poenis
tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placen-
tiam est perductus, inde Pado traiectus Cremonam, ne
duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

57 Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut
iam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis ho-
stem venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse, quo
2 [a] portis moenibusque vim arcerent: uno consule ad
Ticinum victo alterum ex Sicilia revocatum; duobus
consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus victis quos
alios duces, quas alias legiones esse, quae arcessantur?

Ita territis Sempronius consul advenit. Ingenti peri- 3
culo per effusos passim ad praedandum hostium equites
audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resisten-
dive, si non falleret, transgressus, id quod unum ma- 4
xime in praesentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus
habitis in hiberna rediit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius
et C. Flaminius.

Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant 5
vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, *ut* quaeque
iis inpeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes
igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado
naves subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit 6
et opere magno munitum et valido firmatum praesidio.
Eius castelli expugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi
armatura profectus Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando
incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non
fefellit vigiles. Tantus repente clamor est sublatus, 7
ut Placentiae quoque audiretur. Itaque sub lucem
cum equitatu consul aderat iussis quadrato agmine
legionibus sequi; equestre interim proelium commis- 8
sum, in quo quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit,
pavore hostibus iniecto defensum egregie praesidium
est. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta et vixdum 9
satis percurato vulnere ad Victumulas oppugnandas
ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; 10
munitum inde locum frequentaverant adcolae mixti
undique ex finitimis populis, et tum terror populatio-
num eo plerosque ex agris conpulerat. Huius generis 11
multitudo, fama inpigre defensi ad Placentiam prae-
sidii accensa, armis arreptis obviam Hannibali procedit.
Magis agmina quam acies in via concurrerunt, et, cum 12
ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset,

in altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad triginta
13 quinque milia hominum a paucis fusa. Postero die
deditione facta praesidium intra moenia accepere;
iussique arma tradere cum dicto paruissent, signum
repente victoribus datur, ut tamquam vi captam urbem
14 diriperent. Neque ulla, quae in tali re memorabilis
scribentibus videri solet, praetermissa clades est; adeo
omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae
editum in miseros exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae
expeditiones Hannibalis.

58 Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora
2 erant, quies militi data est, et ad prima ac dubia signa
veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam
quoque gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut
3 voluntate adiuncturus. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo
atrox adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope foedita-
tem superaverit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in
ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant, aut
contra enitentes vertice intorti adfligebantur, consti-
4 tere; dein, cum iam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare
animam sineret, aversi a vento parumper consedere.
5 Tum vero ingenti sono caelum strepere et inter hor-
rendos fragores micare ignes; capti auribus et oculis
6 metu omnes torpere; tandem effuso imbre, cum eo
magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo, quo deprensi
7 erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. Id
vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit: nam nec
explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant, nec, quod
statutum esset, manebat, omnia perscindente vento et
8 rapiente, et mox aqua levata vento cum super gelida
montium iuga concreta esset, tantum nivosae grandinis
deiecit, ut omnibus omissis procumberent homines

tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti; tantaque vis 9
frigoris insecuta est, ut ex illa miserabili hominum
iumentorumque strage cum se quisque attollere ac
levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torpentibus rigore
nervis vix flectere artus poterant. Deinde, ut tandem 10
agitando sese movere ac recipere animos et raris locis
ignis fieri est coeptus, ad alienam opem quisque
inops tendere. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi mansere. 11
Multi homines, multa iumenta, elephanti quoque ex
iis, qui proelio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem
absumpti.

Degressus Appennino rétro ad Placentiam castra **59**
movit et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero
die duodecim milia peditum quinque equitum adversus
hostem ducit; nec Sempronius consul — iam enim 2
redierat ab Roma — detrectavit certamen. Atque eo
die tria milia passum inter bina castra fuere; postero 3
die ingentibus animis vario eventu pugnatum est.
Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit, ut non
acie vincerent solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra perse-
querentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hanni- 4
bal paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positis
ceteros confertos in media castra recepit intentosque
signum ad erumpendum *ex*spectare iubet. Iam nona 5
ferme diei hora erat, cum Romanus nequiquam fati-
gato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris,
signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit 6
laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit, ex-
templo equitibus dextra laevaque emissis in hostem
ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna 7
raro magis ulla aequa et utriusque partis pernicie
clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium

8 sivisset: nox accensum ingentibus animis proelium
diremit. Itaque acrior concursus fuit quam caedes, et,
sicut aequata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari disces-
sum est. Ab neutra parte sescentis plus peditibus et
9 dimidium eius equitum cecidit; sed maior Romanis
quam pro numero iactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis
aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et praefecti socio-
10 rum tres sunt interfecti. Secundum eam pugnam
Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam concessit.
Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti
duo quaestores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius,
cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris
ordinis, senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore
cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

60 Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio
2 in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus cum ab
ostio Rhodani profectus Pyrenaeosque montes circum-
3 vectus Emporias adpulisset classem, exposito ibi exer-
citu, orsus a Lacetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum
flumen partim renovandis societatibus partim novis
4 instituendis Romanae dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata
clementiae fama non ad maritimos modo populos, sed
in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores
iam gentes valuit; nec pax modo apud eos sed societas
etiam armorum parta est, validaeque aliquot auxilio-
5 rum cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. Hannonis cis
Hiberum provincia erat: eum reliquerat Hannibal ad
regionis eius praesidium. Itaque, priusquam aliena-
rentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus castris in con-
6 spectu hostium positis in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano
differendum certamen visum, quippe qui sciret cum
Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse mallet-

que adversus singulos separatim quam adversus duos
simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio 7
fuit. Sex milia hostium caesa, duo capta cum praesidio castrorum; nam et castra expugnata sunt, atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur, et Cissis,
propincum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum 8
praeda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barba-
rica ac vilium mancipiorum; castra militem ditavere, 9
non eius modo exercitus, qui victus erat, sed et eius, qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia inpedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenaeum relictis.

Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, trans- 61
gressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus peditum, mille equitum, tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim
amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud 2
procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palantisque per agros, quod ferme fit, ut secundae res neglegentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna caede, maiore fuga ad naves conpellit.
Nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione 3
opprimeretur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio 4
raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos praefectos navium animadvertisset, praesidio Tarracone modico relicto Emporias cum classe
rediit. Vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat, et 5
Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem inpulso, cum eorum ipsorum iuventute
agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat. Excito 6
deinde Scipione hibernis toto cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilerge-

tum gentem cum infesto exercitu invasisset, conpulsis
omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quae caput eius populi
7 erat, circumsedit intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam
ante obsidibus imperatis, Ilergetes pecunia etiam mul-
8 tatos in ius dicionemque recepit. Inde in Ausetanos
prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum, procedit
atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos auxilium finitimis
ferentes nocte haud procul iam urbe, cum intrare vel-
9 lent, excepit insidiis. Caesa ad duodecim milia; exuti
prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros
diffugere. Nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua
10 oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio
fuit, per quos raro umquam nix minus quattuor pedes
alta iacuit; adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum
operuerat, ut ea sola ignibus aliquotiens coniectis ab
11 hoste etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo, cum Amu-
sicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset,
viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem
in hiberna reditum est.

62 Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia
facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem
2 animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt; in quis,
ingenuum infantem semenstrem in foro olitorio tri-
3 umphum clamasse, et *in* foro boario bovem in tertiam
contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tu-
4 multu habitatorum territum sese deiecisse, et navium
speciem de caelo adfulsisse, et aedem Spei, quae est
in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam; et Lanuvi hastam se
commovisse et corvum in aedem Iunonis devolasse
5 atque in ipso pulvinari consedisse, et in agro Amiter-
nino multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste
visos nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno lapidibus

pluvisse, et Caere sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia lupum
vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera 6
prodigia libros adire decemviri iussi; quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum.
Et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata
fuit. Iam primum omnium urbs lustrata est hostiae- 7
que maiores quibus editum est dis caesae, et donum 8
ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium Iunoni portatum est, et signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedicaverunt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes adtenuatae erant, imperatum, et supplicatio Fortunae in
Algido; Romae quoque et lectisternium Iuventati et 9
supplicatio ad aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria indicta, et Genio
maiores hostiae caesae quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus 10
praetor vota suscipere iussus, si in decem annos res
publica eodem stetisset statu. Haec procurata votaque 11
ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant religione animos.

Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae **63**
legiones, quae Placentiae hibernabant, sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus
idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. Hic in pro- 2
vincia consulatum inire consilium erat memori veterum certaminum cum patribus, quae tribunus plebis et quae postea consul prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur,
dein de triumpho habuerat, invisus etiam patribus ob 3
novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum atque uno patrum adiuvante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator cuive senator pater fuisset maritimam navem, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus 4

ex agris vectandos; quaestus omnis patribus indecorus
visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam
apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud
5 plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob haec
ratus auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum
mora et consularibus aliis inpedimentis retenturos se
in urbe, simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam
6 abiit. Ea res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram
infestis iam ante patribus movit: non cum senatu
modo, sed iam cum dis inmortalibus C. Flaminium
7 bellum gerere. Consulem ante inauspicato factum
revocantibus ex ipsa acie dis atque hominibus non
paruisse; nunc conscientia spretorum et Capitolium
8 et sollemnem votorum nuncupationem fugisse, ne die
initi magistratus Iovis optimi maximi templum adiret;
ne senatum invisus ipse et sibi uni invisum videret
consuleretque; ne Latinas indiceret Iovique Latiari
9 sollemne sacrum in monte faceret; ne auspicato pro-
fectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda paludatus
inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret. Lixae modo
sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam, fur-
tim, haud aliter quam si exilii causa solum vertisset.
10 Magis pro maiestate videlicet imperii Arimini quam
Romae magistratum initurum et in deversorio hospi-
tali quam apud penates suos praetextam sumpturum.
11 Revocandum universi retrahendumque censuerunt et
cogendum omnibus prius praesentem in deos homines-
que fungi officiis, quam ad exercitum et in provinciam
12 iret. In eam legationem — legatos enim mitti placuit
— Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis
eum moverunt, quam priore consulatu litterae move-
13 rant ab senatu missae. Paucos post dies magistra-

tum iniit, inmolantique ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus
sacrificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circum-
stantes cruore respersit; fuga procul etiam maior apud 14
ignaros, quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit. Id a
plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. Legioni- 15
bus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule,
duabus a C. Atilio praetore acceptis in Etruriam per
Appennini tramites exercitus duci est coeptus.

PERIOCHA LIBRI XXI.

Initia belli Punici secundi referuntur et Hannibalis, ducis Poenorum, contra foedus per Hiberum flumen transitus; a quo Saguntinum, *sociorum* populi Romani, civitas obsessa octavo mense capta est. De quibus iniuriis missi legati ad Carthaginienses, qui quererentur. Cum satisfacere nollent, bellum eis indictum est. Hannibal superato Pyrenaeo saltu per Gallias fusis Volcis, qui obsistere conati erant ei, ad Alpes venit et laborioso per eas transitu, cum montanos quoque Gallos obvios aliquot proeliis reppulisset, descendit in Italiam et ad Ticinum flumen Romanos equestri proelio fudit; in quo vulneratum P. Cornelium Scipionem protexit filius, qui Africani postea nomen accepit. Iterumque exercitu Romano ad flumen Trebiam fuso Hannibal Appenninum quoque permagna vexatione militum propter vim tempestatium transiit. Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispania contra Poenos prospere pugnavit duce hostium Magone capto.

TITI LIVII

AB URBE CONDITA LIBER XXII.

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1 Iam ver adpetebat; *ita*que Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequiquam ante conatus transcendere Appenninum intolerandis frigoribus, et cum ingenti periculo
2 moratus ac metu. Galli, quos praedae populationumque conciverat spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis videre,
3 verterunt retro *in* Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate, qua consenserant, consensum indicantium, servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem, nunc tegumenta capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis
4 munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae idibus
5 Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi cum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi
6 iustum imperium, quod auspicium esse? Magistratus id a domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capito-
7 lio nuncupatis secum ferre; nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo

nova atque integra concipere posse. Augebant metum 8
prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia
militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro
circumeunti vigilias equiti scipionem, quem manu
tenuerat, arsisse, et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et
scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et milites quosdam ictos 9
fulminibus, et solis orbem minui visum; et Praeneste
ardentes lapides caelo cecidisse, et Arpis parmas in
caelo visas pugnantemque cum luna solem, et Capenae
duas interdiu lunas ortas, et aquas Caeretes sanguine 10
mixtas fluxisse fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis
manasse respersum maculis, et Antii metentibus cru-
entas in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis caelum 11
findi velut magno hiatu visum, quaque patuerit, ingens
lumen effulsisse, sortes sua sponte adtenuatas, unam-
que excidisse ita scriptam "Mavors telum suum con-
cutit"; et per idem tempus Romae signum Martis 12
Appia via ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuae
speciem caeli ardentis fuisse lunaeque inter imbrem
cadentis. Inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides 13
habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam
in marem, gallum in feminam sese vertisse. His, 14
sicut erant nuntiata, expositis auctoribusque in curiam
introductis consul de religione patres consuluit. De- 15
cretum, ut ea prodigia partim maioribus hostiis, par-
tim lactentibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per
triduum ad omnia pulvinaria haberetur; cetera, cum 16
decemviri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent, quem ad
modum cordi esse divis *ex* carminibus praefarentur.
Decemvirorum monitu decretum est, Iovi primum 17
[donum] fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret,
et Iunoni Minervaeque ex argento dona darentur, et

Iunoni reginae in Aventino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuvii
18 maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronaeque pecunia
conlata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset,
donum Iunoni reginae in Aventinum ferrent, lectister-
niumque fieret, et ut libertinae et ipsae, unde Feroniae
donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis con-
19 ferrent. Haec ubi facta, decemviri Ardeae in foro
maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri
iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae inmolatum est,
lectisterniumque imperatum — et eum lectum senato-
20 res straverunt — et convivium publicum, ac per urbem
Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum
diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus.

2 Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu
dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam
Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat,
2 cum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur
iter, propiorem viam per paludes petit, qua fluvius
3 Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat, Hispanos
et Afros et omne veterani robur exercitus admixtis
ipsorum inpedimentis, necubi consistere coactis neces-
saria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit, sequi Gallos,
ut id agminis medium esset, novissimos ire equites;
4 Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen,
maxime Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque viae, ut
est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent,
5 cohibentem. Primi, qua modo praeirent duces, per
praealtas fluvii ac profundas voragines, hausti paene
limo inmergentesque se, tamen signa sequebantur.
6 Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque adsurgere ex
voraginibus poterant, *nec* aut corpora animis aut ani-
mos spe sustinebant, alii fessa aegre trahentes membra,

alii, ubi semel victis taedio animis procubuissent, inter 7
iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes. Maxime-
que omnium vigiliae conficiebant per quadriduum iam
et tres noctes toleratae. Cum omnia obtinentibus aquis 8
nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora, inveniri
posset, cumulatis in aqua sarcinis insuper incumbe-
bant, *aut* iumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim 9
acervi tantum, quod exstaret aqua, quaerentibus ad
quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile dabant.
Ipse Hannibal, aeger oculis ex verna primum intem- 10
perie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus
superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua exstaret, vectus, vigi- 11
liis tamen et nocturno umore palustrique caelo gra-
vante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus
erat, altero oculo capitur.

Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum **3**
tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco
potuit, castra locat, certumque per praemissos explora-
tores habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arreti moenia
esse. Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm 2
regionum itineraque et copias ad commeatus expedi-
endos et cetera, quae cognosse in rem erat, summa
omnia cum cura inquirendo exsequebatur. Regio erat 3
in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas
inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac pecoris et
omnium copia rerum opulenti; consul ferox ab consu- 4
latu priore, et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis
sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam
ingenio eius temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus
bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis appa- 5
rebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter
omnia ac praepropere acturum. Quoque pronior esset

in vitia sua, agitare eum atque inritare Poenus parat;
6 et laeva relicto hoste Faesulas petens medio Etruriae
agro praedatum profectus quantam maximam vastita-
tem potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul osten-
7 dit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse
quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante
oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus
ratus, per mediam iam Italiam vagari Poenum atque
obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppu-
8 gnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis
quam speciosa suadentibus: conlegam expectandum,
ut coniunctis exercitibus communi animo consilioque
9 rem gererent; interim equitatu auxiliisque levium
armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohiben-
dum: iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul
itineris pugnaeque cum *proposuisset*, "immo Arreti
10 ante moenia sedeamus," inquit; "hic enim patria et
penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopu-
letur Italiam, vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana
moenia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus quam,
sicut olim Camillum ab Veiis, C. Flaminium ab Arre-
11 tio patres acciverint." Haec simul increpans cum
ocius signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluis-
set, equus repente conruit consulemque lapsum super
12 caput effudit. Territis omnibus qui circa erant velut
foedo omine incipiendae rei insuper nuntiatur, signum
13 omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire. Conver-
sus ad nuntium "num litteras quoque" inquit "ab
senatu adfers, quae me rem gerere vetent? abi, nuntia,
effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus prae metu
14 obtorpuerint." Incedere inde agmen coepit primori-
bus, superquam quod dissenserant ab consilio, territis

etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus laeto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Tra- **4**
sumennumque lacum omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum iniurias
acuat. Et iam pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi 2
maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad *id* ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit
campus; inde colles insurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto 3
locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque levem armaturam post montis circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumulis apte tegentibus, locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum perve- 4
nisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput *haut*
dispectae insidiae. Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clau- 5
sum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi.
Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo 6
magis Romanis subita atque inprovisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucur-
rerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto quam 7
satis cerneret se circumventum esse sensit. Et ante

in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est, quam satis
instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii
5 possent. Consul perculsis omnibus ipse satis, ut in *re*
trepida, inpavidus turbatos ordines, vertente se quo-
que ad dissonos clamores, instruit, ut tempus locusque
patitur, et, quacumque adire audirique potest, adhor-
2 tatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis
aut inploratione deum sed vi ac virtute evadendum
esse. Per medias acies ferro viam fieri, et quo timoris
3 minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse. Ceterum prae
strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi
poterat, tantumque aberat, ut sua signa atque ordines
et locum noscerent, ut vix ad arma capienda aptanda-
que pugnae conpeteret animus, opprimerenturque qui-
dam onerati magis his quam tecti. Et erat in tanta
4 caligine maior usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemi-
tus vulneratorum ictusque corporum aut armorum et
mixtos terrentium paventiumque clamores circumfere-
5 bant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo
inlati haerebant, alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat
6 fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnis partis nequi-
quam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus,
a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuit-
que nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spem esse,
7 tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem
gerendam, et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non
illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec
ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret
acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut mani-
8 pulo esset; fors conglobabat et animus suus cuique
ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat; tantusque fuit
ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum

motum terrae, qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas
partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnis, mare
fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo
pugnantium senserit.

Tris ferme horas pugnatum est, et ubique atrociter; **6**
circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est.
Eum et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse, quacum- 2
que in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, inpigre
ferebat opem; insignemque armis et hostes summa vi 3
petebant et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques —
Ducario nomen erat — facie quoque noscitans consu-
lem "*en*" inquit "hic est" popularibus suis, "qui
legiones nostras cecidit agrosque et urbem est depopu-
latus! Iam ego hanc victimam Manibus peremptorum
foede civium dabo": subditisque calcaribus equo per 4
confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit, obtrun-
catoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam
obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupi-
entem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. Magnae partis 5
fuga inde primum coepit; et iam nec lacus nec montes
pavori obstabant: per omnia arta praeruptaque velut
caeci evadunt, armaque et viri super alium alii praeci-
pitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per 6
prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capiti-
bus umeris*ve* exstare possunt, sese inmergunt. Fuere
quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam
inpulerit, quae ubi inmensa ac sine spe erat, aut defi- 7
cientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus, aut nequi-
quam fessi vada retro aegerrime repetebant, atque ibi
ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucida-
bantur. Sex milia ferme primi agminis per adversos 8
hostes eruptione inpigre facta, ignari omnium, quae

post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere, et cum in tumulo
quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armo-
rum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset, neque scire
9 nec perspicere prae caligine poterant. Inclinata deni-
que re cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperu-
isset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique
perditas res stratamque ostendere foede Romanam
10 aciem. Itaque, ne in conspectos procul inmitteretur
eques, sublatis raptim signis quam citatissimo pote-
11 rant agmine sese abripuerunt. Postero die cum super
cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante
Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte
consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singu-
12 lis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt; quae Punica
religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vin-
cula omnes coniecti.

7 Haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter
2 paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim
milia Romanorum in acie caesa; decem milia sparsa
fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis itineribus urbem
3 petiere; duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi
postea [utrimque] ex vulneribus periere. Multiplex
4 caedes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis; ego, praeter-
quam quod nihil auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis
inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium aequalem
temporibus huiusce belli potissimum auctorem habui.
5 Hannibal captivorum, qui Latini nominis essent, sine
pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata
ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum
cum sepeliri iussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris
causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit.

6 Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti

terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est fac-
tus. Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades 7
adlata quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percunc-
tantur. Et cum frequentis contionis modo turba in
comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem 8
haut multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor
"pugna" inquit "magna victi sumus"; et quamquam
nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio
inpleti rumoribus domos referunt consulem cum magna
parte copiarum caesum, superesse paucos aut fuga 9
passim per Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab hoste.
Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas di- 10
stracti animi eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub
C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium, quae
cuiusque suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis
certum habet, quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero 11
ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas maior prope
mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum
aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens; circumfunde-
banturque obviis sciscitantes, neque avelli, utique ab
notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant.
Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneres, 12
ut cuique laeta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantis-
que aut consolantis redeuntibus domos circumfusos;
feminarum praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus.
Unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in 13
conplexu eius exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii
falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi ad pri-
mum conspectum redeuntis [filii] gaudio nimio exani-
matam. Senatum praetores per dies aliquot ab orto 14
usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consul-
tantes, quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victori-
bus Poenis posset.

8 Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia
nuntiatur clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Cen-
tenio propraetore missa ad conlegam ab Servilio con-
sule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumennum
auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa.
2 Eius rei fama varie homines adfecit: pars occupatis
maiore aegritudine animis levem ex conparatione prio-
3 rum ducere recentem equitum iacturam; pars non id,
quod acciderat, per se aestimare, sed, ut in adfecto
corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam *in* valido
4 gravior sentiretur, ita tum aegrae et adfectae civitati
quodcumque adversi inciderit, non rerum magnitudine
sed viribus extenuatis, quae nihil, quod adgravaret,
5 pati possent, aestimandum esse. Itaque ad remedium
iam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem
dicendum, civitas confugit. Et quia et consul aberat,
a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam
armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut
6 litteras mitti, nec dictatorem praetor creare poterat,
quod numquam ante eam diem factum erat, dictatorem
populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum
7 equitum M. Minucium Rufum; hisque negotium ab
senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis firmarent et
praesidia disponerent quibus locis videretur, pontes-
que rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penatibus
dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

9 Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad
2 Spoletium venit. Inde cum perpopulato agro urbem
oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum
repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniae haut [minus]
prospere temptatae viribus, quanta moles Romanae
3 urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter, non copia

solum omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed refer-
tum praeda, quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapie-
bant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, refectusque 4
miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via proelioque
magis ad eventum secundo quam levi aut facili adfec-
tus. Ubi satis quietis datum praeda ac populationibus 5
magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus
Praetutianum Hadrianum agrum, Marsos inde Mar-
rucinosque et Paelignos devastat circaque Arpos et
Luceriam proximam Apuliae regionem. Cn. Servilius 6
consul levibus proeliis cum Gallis factis et uno oppido
ignobili expugnato postquam de conlegae exercitusque
caede audivit, iam moenibus patriae metuens, ne abes-
set in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum quo die magistra- 7
tum iniit vocato senatu, ab diis orsus, cum edocuisset
patres plus neglegentia caerimoniarum auspiciorum*que*
quam temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flami-
nio consule esse, quaeque piacula irae deum essent
ipsos deos consulendos esse, pervicit, ut quod non 8
ferme decernitur, nisi cum tetra prodigia nuntiata
sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire iuberentur. Qui 9
inspectis fatalibus libris rettulerunt patribus, quod
eius belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum
de integro atque amplius faciundum esse, et Iovi ludos 10
magnos et aedes Veneri Erucinae ac Menti vovendas
esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum,
et ver sacrum vovendum, si bellatum prospere esset
resque publica in eodem, quo ante bellum fuisset, statu
permansisset. Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura 11
occupatura esset, M. Aemilium praetorem ex conlegii
pontificum sententia, omnia ea ut mature fiant, curare

10 iubet. His senatus consultis perfectis L. Cornelius
Lentulus pontifex maximus consulente conlegium prae-
tore omnium primum populum consulendum de vere
2 sacro censet: iniussu populi voveri non posse. Roga-
tus in haec verba populus: "Velitis iubeatisne haec
sic fieri? si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad
quinquennium proximum, sicut velim eam salvam, ser-
vata erit hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano
cum Carthaginiensi est, quaeque duella cum Gallis
sunt, qui cis Alpes sunt, tum donum duit populus
3 Romanus Quiritium: quod ver adtulerit ex suillo
ovillo caprino bovillo grege, quaeque profana erunt,
Iovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque iusserit.
4 Qui faciet, quando volet quaque lege volet, facito;
quo modo faxit, probe factum esto. Si id moritur,
quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto.
5 Si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto. Si
quis clepsit, ne populo scelus esto, neve cui cleptum
6 erit. Si atro die faxit insciens, probe factum esto.
Si nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit, probe
factum esto. Si antidea, ac senatus populusque iusse-
7 rit fieri, faxitur, eo populus solutus liber esto." Eius-
dem rei causa ludi magni voti aeris trecentis triginta
tribus milibus trecentis triginta tribus triente, prae-
terea bubus Iovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus
8 albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis sup-
plicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere cum coniugibus
ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium
etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quoque con-
9 tingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per triduum habi-
tum decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pulvinaria
in conspectu fuerunt: Iovi ac Iunoni unum, alterum

Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quar-
tum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Vestae,
sextum Mercurio et Cereri. Tum aedes votae: Veneri 10
Erucinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit,
quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret,
cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset; Menti
aedem T. Otacilius praetor vovit.

Ita rebus divinis peractis tum de bello deque re **11**
publica dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus
victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent.
Decretum, ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acci- 2
peret; scriberet praeterea ex civibus sociisque quan-
tum equitum ac peditum videretur; cetera omnia
ageret faceretque ut e re publica duceret. Fabius 3
duas legiones se adiecturum ad Servilianum exercitum
dixit. Iis per magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur diem
ad conveniendum edixit. Edictoque proposito, ut, 4
quibus oppida castellaque inmunita essent, ut ii com-
migrarent in loca tuta; ex agris quoque demigrarent
omnes regionis eius, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis
prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cuius rei copia 5
esset, ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam consuli exer-
cituque cum ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum prospexisset
agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredien-
tem, viatorem misit qui consuli nuntiaret, ut sine
lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui cum dicto paru- 6
isset congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictatu-
rae apud cives sociosque vetustate iam prope oblitos
eius imperii fecisset, litterae ab urbe adlatae sunt,
naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam
ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum
Cosanum captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam 7

proficisci iussus, navibusque, quae ad urbem Romanam
aut Ostiae essent, conpletis milite ac navalibus sociis
persequi hostium classem ac litora Italiae tutari.
8 Magna vis hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini
etiam, quibus liberi essent et aetas militaris, in verba
9 iuraverant. Ex hoc urbano exercitu qui minores quin-
que et triginta annis erant in navis inpositi, alii ut
urbi praesiderent relicti.

12 Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco
legato per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad con-
2 veniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Prae-
neste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est
egressus, unde itineribus summa cum cura exploratis
ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas
3 cogeret, fortunae se commissurus. Quo primum die
haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra,
nulla mora facta, quin Poenus educeret in aciem copi-
4 amque pugnandi faceret. Sed ubi quieta omnia apud
hostes nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans
quidem, victos tandem [quos] Martios animos Roma-
nis, debellatumque et concessum propalam de virtute
5 ac gloria esse, in castra rediit; ceterum tacita cura
animum incessit, quod cum duce haudquaquam Fla-
minii Semproniique simili futura sibi res esset, ac tum
demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem
6 quaesissent. Et prudentiam quidem novi dictatoris
extemplo timuit: constantiam hauddum expertus agi-
tare ac temptare animum movendo crebro castra popu-
7 landoque in oculis eius agros sociorum coepit; et
modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente
in aliquo flexu viae, si excipere degressum in aequom
8 posset, occultus subsistebat. Fabius per loca alta

agmen ducebat modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque
omitteret eum neque congrederetur. Castris, nisi
quantum usus necessarii cogerent, tenebatur miles;
pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim; equi- 9
tum levisque armaturae statio, conposita instructaque
in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta
effusis hostium populatoribus praebebat; neque uni- 10
verso periculo summa rerum committebatur, et parva
momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum fini-
timo receptu adsuefaciebant territum pristinis cla-
dibus militem minus iam tandem aut virtutis aut
fortunae paenitere suae. Sed non Hannibalem magis 11
infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum
equitum, qui nihil aliud, quam quod inpar erat impe-
rio, morae ad rem publicam praecipitandam habebat.
Ferox rapidusque consiliis ac lingua inmodicus primo 12
inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus pro cunctatore
segnem, pro cauto timidum, adfingens vicina virtuti-
bus vitia, conpellabat, premendoque superiorem, quae
pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus
crevit, sese extollebat.

Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneven- **13**
tanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit;
inritat etiam de industria ducem, si forte accensum
tot indignitatibus *ac* cladibus sociorum detrahere ad
aecum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum 2
Italici generis, qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hanni-
bale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant,
multis iam tum inlecti donis promissisque Hannibalis
ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nuntiantes, 3
si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuae poti-
endae copiam fore, cum res maior quam auctores esset,

dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffiden-
tem tamen, ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret, moverunt.
4 Monitos [ut] etiam atque etiam promissa rebus adfir-
marent, iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum
5 redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci, ut se in
agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum,
si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem
6 ferendam sociis interclusurum. Sed Punicum abhor-
rens ab Latinorum nominum *pronuntiatione os Casili-
num* pro Casino dux ut acciperet fecit; aversusque ab
suo itinere per Callifanum Allifanumque et Calenum
7 agrum in campum Stellatem descendit. Ubi cum
montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circum-
spexisset, vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi terrarum
8 esset. Cum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset,
tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde
9 alia regione esse; virgisque caeso duce et ad reliquo-
rum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communitis,
Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum prae-
10 datum dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas popu-
latio ea pervenit. Ingentem cladem, fugam tamen
11 terroremque latius Numidae fecerunt: nec tamen is
terror, cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit,
videlicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio,
nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melio-
ribus parere.

14 Ut vero, *post*quam ad Vulturnum flumen castra sunt
posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager villaeque
passim incendiis fumabant per iuga Massici montis
Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa;
2 quieverant enim per paucos dies, quia, cum celerius
solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam

populationibus Campaniam crediderant. Ut vero in 3
extrema iuga Massici montis ventum, et hostes sub
oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessae tecta
urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, "spectatum huc" 4
inquit Minucius "*ut* ad rem fruendam oculis, sociorum
caedes et incendia, venimus? nec, si nullius alterius
nos, ne civium quidem horum pudet, quos Sinuessam
colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste 5
tuta haec ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Samnis
urit, sed Poenus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum
terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia iam huc pro-
gressus? tantum pro! degeneramus a patribus nostris, 6
ut praeter quam nuper oram illi [suam] Punicas
vagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam
nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum
iam factam videamus? Qui modo Saguntum oppu- 7
gnari indignando non homines tantum sed foedera et
deos ciebamus, scandentem moenia Romanae coloniae
Hannibalem laeti spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis 8
villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit; stre-
punt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, saepius
nos quam deorum invocantium opem: nos hic pecorum
modo per aestivos saltus deviasque callis exercitum
ducimus conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc modo pera- 9
grando cacumina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis
urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dic-
tator unicus in rebus adfectis quaesitus, Italiam ab
Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset,
quam vereor ne sic cunctantibus nobis Hannibali ac 10
Poenis totiens servaverint maiores nostri. Sed vir ac 11
vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate
patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios adlatum est,

cum esset satis altum Ianiculum, ubi sedens prospec-
taret hostem, descendit in aecum atque illo ipso die
media in urbe [quae nunc busta Gallica sunt] et
postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones.
12 Quid? post multos annos cum ad Furculas Caudinas
ab Samnite hoste sub iugum missi sumus, utrum tan-
dem L. Papirius Cursor iuga Samnii perlustrando an
Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et lacessendo victo-
rem hostem depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus iugum
13 superbo Samniti inposuit? Modo C. Lutatio quae alia
res quam celeritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die
quam hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus,
inpeditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque adparatu,
14 oppresit? Stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari cre-
dere posse: arma capias oportet et descendas in aecum
et vir cum viro congrediaris. Audendo atque agendo
res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis, quae
15 timidi cauta vocant." Haec velut contionanti Minucio
circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum
multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia
evolvebantur; ac, si militaris suffragii res esset, haud
dubie ferebant Minucium Fabio ducem praelaturos.

15 Fabius pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostis
intentus, prius ab illis invictum animum praestat.
Quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis sed
iam etiam Romae infamem suam cunctationem esse,
obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum aestatis
2 reliquom extraxit, ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe
summa ope petiti certaminis iam hibernis locum cir-
cumspectaret, quia ea regio praesentis erat copiae, non
perpetuae, arbusta vineaeque et consita omnia magis
3 amoenis quam necessariis fructibus. Haec per explo-

ratores relata Fabio. Cum satis sciret per easdem
angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, reditu-
rum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis
praesidiis, quae urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Faler- 4
num a Campano agro dividit; ipse iugis isdem exer-
citum reducit misso exploratum cum quadringentis
equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui, ex turba 5
iuvenum audientium saepe ferociter contionantem ma-
gistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo,
ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per
vicos Numidas *prospexit*, per occasionem etiam paucos
occidit, extemplo occupatus certamine est animus, ex- 6
cideruntque praecepta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto
posset, progressum prius recipere sese iusserat, quam
in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidae alii atque 7
alii occursantes refugientesque ad castra prope ipsa
cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum pertraxere.
Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii 8
erat, concitatis equis invectus, cum prius, quam ad
coniectum teli veniret, avertisset hostis, quinque ferme
milia continenti cursu secutus est fugientis. Manci- 9
nus, postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem
vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proelium rediit
omni parte virium inpar. Itaque ipse et delecti equi- 10
tum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso [rursus]
cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dic-
tatorem perfugerunt.

Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio, missus 11
ad firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam
in artas coactus fauces inminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa
Poenus Appiae limite pervenire in agrum Romanum
posset. Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister 12

equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal duc-
16 turus erat. Duo inde milia hostes aberant. Postero
die Poeni, quod viae inter bina castra erat, agmine
2 conplevere. Cum Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo
haud dubie aequiore loco, successit tamen Poenus cum
expeditis equitibusque ad lacessendum hostem. Car-
ptim Poeni et procursando recipiendoque sese pugna-
3 vere; restitit suo loco Romana acies. Lenta pugna
et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate.
Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere.
4 Inclusus inde videri Hannibal via ad Casilinum ob-
sessa, cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo
divitum sociorum Romanis commeatus subveheret,
Poenus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni arenas stagna-
5 que et per horridas silvas hibernaturus esset. Nec
Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti. Itaque cum
per Casilinum evadere non posset, petendique montes
et iugum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus
6 inclusum vallibus agmen adgrederetur, ludibrium ocu-
lorum specie terribile ad frustrandum hostem com-
mentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes
7 statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit: faces
undique ex agris conlectae fascesque virgarum atque
aridi sarmenti praeligantur cornibus boum, quos do-
mitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem
8 praedam agebat. Ad duo milia ferme boum effecta,
Hasdrubalique negotium datum, ut nocte id armentum
accensis cornibus ad montis ageret, maxime, si posset,
super saltus ab hoste insessos.

17 Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves ali-
2 quanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium vias-
que angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur, ut

accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur
montis. Et metus ipse relucentis flammae a capite
calorque iam ad vivom ad imaque cornua veniens velut
stimulatos furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu 3
haud secus quam silvis montibusque accensis omnia
circa virgulta ardere; capitumque inrita quassatio exci-
tans flammam hominum passim discurrentium speciem
praebebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati 4
erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam
ignes conspexere, circumventos se esse rati praesidio
excessere; qua minime densae micabant flammae, velut
tutissimum iter petentes summa montium iuga, tamen
in quosdam boves palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt.
Et primo cum procul cernerent, veluti flammas spi- 5
rantium miraculo adtoniti constiterunt; deinde ut 6
humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse,
cum maiore tumultu concitant se in fugam. Levi
quoque armaturae hostium incurrere; ceterum nox
aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientis ad lucem
tenuit. Interea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per 7
saltum et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis
in agro Allifano posuit castra.

Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius: ceterum et insidias **18**
esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine
suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub iugo montis 2
proelium fuit, quo interclusam ab suis levem armatu-
ram facile — etenim numero aliquantum praestabant
— Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id
ipsum remissa ab Hannibale supervenisset. Ea adsue- 3
tior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque
aptior ac levior cum velocitate corporum tum armorum
habitu campestrem hostem, gravem armis statarium-

4 que, pugnae genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam
pari certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes,
Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.
5 Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque saltum
6 super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum per
Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque
in Paelignos populabundus rediit; Fabius medius inter
hostium agmen urbemque Romam iugis ducebat, nec
7 absistens nec congrediens. Ex Paelignis Poenus flexit
iter retroque Apuliam repetens Gereonium pervenit,
urbem metu, quia conlapsa ruinis pars moenium erat,
ab suis desertam; dictator in Larinate agro castra
8 communiit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus,
non imperio modo sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus
agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio quam for-
tunae confidat, et se potius ducem quam Sempronium
9 Flaminiumque imitetur: ne nihil actum censeret ex-
tracta prope aestate per ludificationem hostis; medicos
quoque plus interdum quiete quam movendo atque
10 agendo proficere; haud parvam rem esse ab totiens
victore hoste vinci desisse ac respirasse ab continuis
cladibus — haec nequiquam praemonito magistro equi-
tum Romam est profectus.

19 Principio aestatis, qua haec gerebantur, in Hispania
2 quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est. Hasdrubal
ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum
3 paratumque acceperat, decem adiectis quadraginta na-
vium classem Himilconi tradit, atque ita Carthagine
profectus navis prope terram, exercitum in litore du-
cebat paratus confligere, quacumque parte copiarum
4 hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex
hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem consilii fuit;

deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam novorum
auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves
inposito quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam
hosti pergit. Altero ab Tarracone die *ad* stationem 5
decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis
pervenit. Inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae prae-
missae rettulere classem Punicam stare in ostio flu-
minis castraque in ripa posita. Itaque ut inprovidos 6
incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret,
sublatis ancoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis
positas turris Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et
propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo 7
conspectis hostium navibus datum signum Hasdrubali
est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad
mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remo-
rum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus
classem promunturiis, cum repente eques alius super 8
alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque
in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut proe-
lium eo die expectantis, conscendere naves propere
atque arma capere iubet: classem Romanam iam haud
procul portu esse. Haec equites dimissi passim impera- 9
bant. Mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat,
varioque omnia tumultu strepunt ruentibus in naves
simul remigibus militibusque fugientium magis e terra
quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes con- 10
scenderant, cum alii resolutis oris in ancoras evehun-
tur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt, raptimque
omnia *ac* praepropere agendo militum apparatu nautica
ministeria inpediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere
et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et iam Romanus 11
non adpropinquabat modo, sed derexerat etiam in

pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis
Poeni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati, temptata
verius pugna quam inita in fugam averterunt classem.
12 Et cum adversi amnis os lato agmini et tum multis
simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus
passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadis, alii sicco litore
excepti, partim armati partim inermes ad instructam
per litus aciem suorum perfugere; duae tamen primo
concursu captae erant Punicae naves, quattuor sup-
20 pressae. Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat,
armatamque aciem toto praetentam in litore cerne-
bant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium clas-
2 sem, navis omnis, quae non aut perfregerant proras
litori inlisas aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas pup-
pibus in altum extraxere, ad quinque et viginti naves
3 e quadraginta cepere. Neque id pulcherrimum eius
victoriae fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto eius orae
4 mari potiti erant. Itaque ad Onusam classe profecti;
escensio ab navibus in terram facta. Cum urbem vi
cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde
5 petunt, atque omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo
tecta quoque iniuncta muro portisque incenderunt.
6 Inde iam praeda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit
classis, ubi vis magna sparti *erat* ad rem nauticam
congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit
7 sublato ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis
modo praelecta est ora, sed in Ebusum insulam trans-
8 missum. Ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum
nequiquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem
9 inritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad
populationem agri versi direptis aliquot incensisque
vicis maiore quam ex continenti praeda parta cum in

naves se recepissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati pacem
petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro 10
classis reditumque in citeriora provinciae, quo omnium
populorum, qui *cis* Hiberum incolunt, multorum et
ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrerunt. Sed qui vere 11
dicionis imperiique Romani facti sint obsidibus datis
populi, amplius fuere centum viginti. Igitur terre- 12
stribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad
saltum Castulonensem est progressus. Hasdrubal in
Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquom aestatis tem- **21**
pus, fuissetque per Poenum hostem; sed praeterquam 2
quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas
res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui antea
Ilergetum regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu 3
recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in
agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum
venerunt. Adversus eos tribuni militum cum expeditis 4
auxiliis a Scipione missi levi certamine, ut tumultua-
riam manum, fudere mille hominibus occisis, quibus-
dam captis magnaque parte armis exuta. Hic tamen 5
tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hi-
berum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in 6
agro Ilergavonensium, castra Romana ad Novam clas-
sem erant, cum fama repens alio avertit bellum. Cel- 7
tiberi, qui principes regionis suae *miserant* legatos
obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione
exciti arma capiunt, provinciamque Carthaginiensium
valido exercitu invadunt. Tria oppida vi expugnant; 8
inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus proeliis egregie
pugnant; ad quindecim milia hostium occiderunt,
quattuor milia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

22 Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provinciam
venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu
missus cum triginta longis navibus et octo milibus
2 militum magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis
ingens agmine onerariarum procul visa cum magna
laetitia civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex
3 alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposito profectus Scipio fratri
se coniungit, ac deinde communi animo consilioque
4 gerebant bellum. Occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus
Celtiberico bello haud cunctanter Hiberum transgre-
diuntur, nec ullo viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire,
quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hanni-
bale fama erat modico in arce custodiri praesidio.
5 Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem
omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne
sanguine liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur.
6 Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus sollerti magis quam
fideli consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis
Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis; tum, qualia plerumque
sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat
7 fidem. Ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei prodi-
tione venientem ad hostis nihil aliud quam unum vile
atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat, ut quam
8 maxumum emolumentum novis sociis esset. Circum-
spectis igitur omnibus, quae fortuna potestatis eius
poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis ani-
mum adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus concilia-
9 turam Romanis principum Hispaniae amicitiam. Sed
cum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil obsi-
dum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte ad-
10 greditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat
Bostar, ut aditum ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi

eum in secretum abductum velut ignorantem monet,
quo statu sit res: metum continuisse ad eam diem 11
Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent;
nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam
perfugiumque novas volentibus res: itaque quos metus
non teneat, beneficio et gratia devinciendos esse. Mi- 12
ranti Bostari percunctantique, quodnam id subitum
tantae rei donum posset esse, "obsides" inquit "in
civitates remitte. Id et privatim parentibus, quorum 13
maxumum momentum in civitatibus est suis, et publice
populis gratum erit. Volt sibi quisque credi, et habita 14
fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministerium
restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet deposco ipse,
ut opera quoque inpensa consilium adiuvem meum, et
rei suapte natura gratae quantam insuper gratiam
possim adiciam." Homini non ad cetera Punica in- 15
genia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad
hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliaribus
Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid ad- 16
ferret, expromit, et fide accepta dataque ac loco et
tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos Saguntum
redit. Diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare
mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. Dimissus cum 17
se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, con-
stituisset, ad conpositam cum iis horam excitatis
custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in prae-
paratas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana 18
perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut
cum Bostare constitutum erat, peracta eodem ordine,
quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. Maior 19
aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari, quam
quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illos enim

gravis superbos*que* in rebus secundis expertos fortuna
20 et timor mitigasse videri poterat; Romanus primo
adventu, incognitus ante, ab re clementi liberalique
initium fecerat; et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra
21 videbatur socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu
defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota
forent, ni hiemps, quae Romanos quoque et Carthagi-
nienses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

23 Haec in Hispania [quoque] secunda aestate Punici
belli gesta, cum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus
2 Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabii fecisset; quae ut
Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat,
tandem eum militiae magistrum delegisse Romanos
3 cernentem, qui bellum ratione non fortuna gereret, ita
contempta erat inter civis armatos pariter togatosque,
utique postquam absente eo temeritate magistri equi-
tum laeto verius dixerim quam prospero eventu pu-
4 gnatum fuerat. Accesserant duae res ad augendam
invidiam dictatoris, una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis,
quod, cum a perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris
esset, omnibus circa solo aequatis ab uno eo ferrum
ignemque et vim omnem hostilem abstineri iussit, ut
occulti alicuius pacti ea merces videri posset, altera
5 ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non exspectata
in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud am-
6 bigue in maximam laudem verso. In permutandis
captivis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum erat,
convenerat inter duces Romanum Poenumque, ut quae
pars plus reciperet quam daret, argenti pondo bina et
7 selibras in militem praestaret. Ducentis quadraginta
septem cum plures Romanus quam Poenus recepisset,
argentumque pro eis debitum saepe iactata in senatu

re, quoniam non consuluisset patres, tardius erogare- 8
tur, inviolatum ab hoste agrum misso Romam Quinto
filio vendidit, fidemque publicam inpendio privato
exsolvit.

Hannibal pro Gereoni moenibus, cuius urbis captae 9
atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum pauca reli-
querat tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas 10
exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in
statione erat simul castris praesidio et circumspectans,
necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret. Romanus **24**
tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat. Praeerat Minu-
cius magister equitum profecto, sicut ante dictum est,
ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, quae in monte 2
alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, iam in planum defe-
runtur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia cali-
diora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in
castra relicta cum levi praesidio fieret. Nec Hanni- 3
balem fefellit cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem,
et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos.
Ipse autem—quod minime quis crederet—cum hostis 4
propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum
duabus in castris retentis dimisit; dein castra ipsa 5
propius hostem movit duo ferme a Gereonio milia in
tumulum hosti conspectum, ut intentum *se* sciret esse
ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Pro- 6
pior inde ei atque ipsis inminens Romanorum castris
tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam
iretur, quia haud dubie hostis breviore via praeven-
turus erat, nocte clam missi Numidae ceperunt. Quos 7
tenentis locum contempta paucitate Romani postero
die cum deiecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. Tum 8
utique exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id

ipsum totum prope conpleverat Romana acies. Simul
et per aversa a castris Hannibalis, equitatus cum
levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late caedem
9 fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie certare
Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si
10 oppugnarentur, tutari poterat; iamque artibus Fabii
— pars exercitus aberat [iam fame] * — sedendo et
cunctando bellum gerebat, receperatque suos in priora
11 castra, quae pro Gereoni moenibus erant. Iusta quo-
que acie et conlatis signis dimicatum quidam auctores
sunt: primo concursu Poenum usque ad castra fusum,
inde eruptione facta repente versum terrorem in Ro-
manos, Numeri Decimi Samnitis deinde interventu
12 proelium restitutum. Hunc principem genere ac divi-
tiis non Boviani modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio,
iussu dictatoris octo milia peditum et equites quin-
gentos ducentem in castra, ab tergo cum apparuisset
Hannibali, speciem parti utrique praebuisse novi prae-
13 sidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma venientis. Hannibalem
insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem recepisse suos,
Romanum insecutum adiuvante Samnite duo castella
14 eo die expugnasse. Sex milia hostium caesa, quinque
admodum Romanorum; tamen in tam pari prope clade
vanam famam egregiae victoriae cum vanioribus litte-
ris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

25 De iis rebus persaepe et in senatu et in contione
2 actum est. Cum laeta civitate dictator unus nihil nec
famae nec litteris crederet *et*, ut vera omnia essent,
3 secunda se magis quam adversa timere diceret, tum
M. Metilius tribunus plebis id enimvero ferendum esse
4 negat: non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei
bene gerendae, sed absentem etiam gestae obstare, et

in ducendo bello [ac] sedulo tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque et Romae et in exercitu
imperium habeat: quippe consulum alterum in acie 5
cecidisse, alterum specie classis Punicae persequendae
procul ab Italia ablegatum; duos praetores Sicilia 6
atque Sardinia occupatos, quarum neutra hoc tempore [provincia] praetore egeat; M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret, prope in custodia habitum. Itaque hercule non 7
Samnium modo, quo iam tamquam trans Hiberum agro Poenis concessum sit, sed Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem pugnare et magistrum 8
equitum clausos prope intra vallum retentos, tamquam hostibus captivis arma adempta. Tandem, ut absces- 9
serit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos, extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostis. Quas ob res, si 10
antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset, audaciter se laturum fuisse [dein] de abrogando Q. Fabi imperio; nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure. Nec tamen ne ita 11
quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flamini suffecisset. Dic- 12
tator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime popularis. Ne in senatu quidem satis aequis auribus audiebatur, [hunc] cum hostem verbis extolleret bienniique clades per temeritatem atque inscitiam ducum acceptas referret *et* magistro equitum, quod contra 13
dictum suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii consiliique sit, prope 14
diem effecturum, ut sciant homines bono imperatore

haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationem-
15 que dominari, et in tempore et sine ignominia servasse
exercitum quam multa milia hostium occidisse maio-
16 rem gloriam esse. Huius generis orationibus frustra
habitis et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne prae-
sens de iure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis
17 ferendae dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce
orta cum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia
dictatoris favorque magistri equitum animos versabat,
quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum quod
vulgo placebat prodire, et favore superante auctoritas
18 tamen rogationi deerat. Unus inventus est suasor
legis C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno praetor
fuerat, loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus.
19 Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis,
filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum.
26 Is iuvenis, ut primum ex eo genere quaestus pecunia
a patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunae
2 fecit, togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sor-
didis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam
bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad hono-
3 res pervenit, quaesturaque et duabus aedilitatibus,
plebeia et curuli, postremo et praetura perfunctus iam
4 ad consulatus spem cum adtolleret animos, haud parum
callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoria invidia
5 petiit, scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit. Omnes eam
rogationem, quique Romae quique in exercitu erant,
aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum dictatorem in con-
6 tumeliam eius latam acceperunt; ipse, qua gravitate
animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat,
7 eadem et populi in se saevientis iniuriam tulit; accep-
tisque in ipso itinere litteris senatusque consulto de

aequato imperio, satis fidens haudquaquam cum impe-
rii iure artem imperandi aequatam, cum invicto a civi-
bus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.
Minucius vero cum iam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset **27**
rebus secundis ac favore volgi, tum utique inmodice 2
inmodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab se quam
Q. Fabio gloriari: illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem 3
ac parem quaesitum Hannibali, maiorem minori, dicta-
torem magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat
annalium, iussu populi aequatum in eadem civitate,
in qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris
tremere atque horrere soliti sint: tantum suam feli- 4
citatem virtutemque enituisse. Ergo secuturum se
fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitie
deorum hominumque iudicio damnata perstaret. Ita- 5
que quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio,
statuendum omnium primum ait esse, quem ad modum
imperio aequato utantur: se optumum ducere aut 6
diebus alternis, aut, si maiora intervalla placerent,
partitis temporibus alterius summum ius imperiumque 7
esse, ut par hosti non consilio solum sed viribus etiam
esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendae habuisset.
Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia eam fortu- 8
nam habitura, quamcumque temeritas conlegae habu-
isset. Sibi communicatum cum alio, non ademptum
imperium esse: itaque se numquam volentem parte 9
qua posset rerum consilio gerendarum cessurum; nec
se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exercitum divisu-
rum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret, quae
posset, servaturum. Ita obtinuit, ut legiones, sicut con- 10
sulibus mos esset, inter se dividerent. Prima et quarta
Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt. Item 11

equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis
auxilia diviserunt. Castris quoque se separari magi-
ster equitum voluit.

28 Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit — neque enim
quicquam eorum, quae apud hostes agerentur, eum
fallebat et perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos
2 explorantem —: nam et liberam Minuci temeritatem
se suo modo captaturum et sollertiae Fabii dimidium
3 virium decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minuci
et Poenorum, quem qui occupasset, haud dubie iniqui-
4 orem erat hosti locum facturus. Eum non tam capere
sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operae
pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio,
quem procursurum ad obsistendum satis sciebat, con-
5 trahere. Ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis
insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quicquam sed
6 ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat, re ipsa natus
tegendis insidiis eo magis, quod in nuda valle nulla
talis fraus timeri poterat; et erant in anfractibus
cavae rupes, ut quaedam earum ducenos armatos pos-
7 sent capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum
apte insidere poterant, quinque milia conduntur pedi-
8 tum equitumque. Necubi tamen aut motus alicuius
temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle
tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad
capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum avertit oculos
9 hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas,
ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostis ac
locum capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidissimos fero-
cissimosque ad arma vocat, et vanis minis increpat
10 hostem. Principio levem armaturam [dimittit], deinde
conferto agmine mittit equites; postremo, cum hosti-

bus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus
procedit. Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque 11
alia, increscente certamine, mittens auxilia peditum
equitumque iam iustam expleverat aciem, ac totis
utrimque viribus certatur. Prima levis armatura Ro- 12
manorum, praeoccupatum *ex* inferiore loco succedens
tumulum, pulsa detrusaque terrorem in succedentem
intulit equitem et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum 13
acies inter perculsos inpavida sola erat, videbaturque,
si iusta ac [si] recta pugna esset, haudquaquam inpar
futura: tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos
dies res gesta; sed exorti repente insidiatores eum 14
tumultum terroremque in latera utrimque ab tergoque
incursantes fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam
neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset. Tum Fabius **29**
primo clamore paventium audito, dein conspecta pro-
cul turbata acie, "ita est" inquit, "non celerius quam
timui deprendit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio aequatus 2
imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem
videt. Sed aliud iurgandi succensendique tempus erit;
nunc signa extra vallum proferte: victoriam hosti ex-
torqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus." Iam magna 3
ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam
Fabiana se acies repente velut caelo demissa ad auxi-
lium ostendit. Itaque, priusquam ad coniectum teli 4
veniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et
ab nimis feroci pugna hostes continuit. Qui solutis
ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confugerunt
ad integram aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant, 5
conversi in hostem volventesque orbem nunc sensim
referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare. Ac iam prope
una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus, infe-

rebantque signa in hostem, cum Poenus receptui ceci-
6 nit, palam ferente Hannibale ab se Minucium, se ab
Fabio victum.
7 Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta cum
in castra reditum esset, Minucius convocatis militibus
8 "saepe ego" inquit "audivi, milites, eum primum esse
virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit, secundum
eum, qui bene monenti oboediat; qui nec ipse consu-
lere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse.
9 Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors
est, secundam ac mediam teneamus et, dum imperare
discimus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus.
10 Castra cum Fabio iungamus; ad praetorium eius signa
cum tulerimus, ubi ego eum parentem appellavero,
quod beneficio eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum
11 est, vos, milites, eos, quorum vos modo arma *ac* dexte-
rae texerunt, patronos salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud,
gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dede-
30 rit." Signo dato conclamatur inde, ut colligantur vasa.
Profecti et agmine incedentes *ad* dictatoris castra in
admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant con-
2 verterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa,
progressus ante alios magister equitum, cum patrem
Fabium appellasset, circumfusosque militum eius to-
3 tum agmen patronos consalutasset, "parentibus" in-
quit "meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quod
fando possum, aequavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi cum
4 meam salutem tum omnium horum. Itaque plebeisci-
tum, quo oneratus *sum* magis quam honoratus, primus
antiquo abrogoque, et, quod tibi mihique exercitibus-
que his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub
imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa haec

legionesque restituo. Tu, quaeso, placatus me magi- 5
sterium equitum, hos ordines suos quemque tenere
iubeas." Tum dextrae interiunctae militesque con- 6
tione dimissa ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospi-
taliter invitati, laetusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo
ante ac prope exsecrabili factus. Romae, ut est per- 7
lata fama rei gestae, dein litteris non magis ipsorum
imperatorum quam volgo militum ex utroque exercitu
adfirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad cae-
lum ferre. Pari gloria apud Hannibalem hostisque 8
Poenos erat; ac tum demum sentire cum Romanis
atque in Italia bellum esse: nam biennio ante adeo et 9
duces Romanos et milites spreverant, ut vix cum
eadem gente bellum esse crederent, cuius terribilem
famam a patribus accepissent. Hannibalem quoque 10
ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem,
quae sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella
imbrem dedisse.

Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus **31**
consul cum classe *centum viginti* navium circumvectus
Sardiniae et Corsicae oram et obsidibus utrimque ac-
ceptis in Africam transmisit et, priusquam in conti- 2
nentem escensionem faceret, Menige insula vastata et
ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diri-
pereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis ad
litora Africae accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad 3
populandum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii iuxta
effusi, ac si *in* insulis cultorum egentibus praedarentur.
Itaque in insidias temere inlati cum a frequentibus 4
palantes et ignari ab locorum gnaris circumvenirentur,
cum multa caede ac foeda fuga retro ad naves con-
pulsi sunt. Ad mille hominum, cum iis Sempronio 5

Blaeso quaestore amisso, classis ab litoribus hostium
6 plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit, traditaque Lilybaei T. Otacilio praetori, ut ab legato eius
7 P. Cincio Romam reduceretur. Ipse per Siciliam pedibus profectus freto in Italiam traiecit, litteris Q. Fabii accitus et ipse et conlega eius M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se exacto iam prope semenstri imperio acciperent.

8 Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Coelius etiam eum
9 primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit: sed et Coelium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, ius fuisse di-
10 cendi dictatoris; quam moram quia expectare territa *tertia* iam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum est,
11 ut a populo crearetur, qui pro dictatore esset; res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore *creatus esset, dictator fuisse* crederetur, facile obtinuisse.

32 Consules Atilius Fabiano Geminus Servilius Minuciano exercitu accepto hibernaculis mature communitis, *quod reli*quom autumni erat, Fabi artibus cum
2 summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum universae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus
3 petebat hostis, non veniebant; adeoque inopia est coactus Hannibal, ut nisi cum fugae specie abeundum ei fuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit nulla relicta spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.

4 Cum ad Gereonium iam hieme inpediente constitisset

bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venere. Ab iis
quadraginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam
inlatae atque ita verba facta, ut dicerent: scire sese 5
populi *Romani* aerarium bello exhauriri, et, cum iuxta
pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce
Italiae, urbe Romana, atque imperio, geratur, aequom 6
censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templo-
rum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunae a maioribus
relictum foret, eo iuvare populum Romanum. Si quam 7
opem in sese crederent, eodem studio fuisse oblaturos.
Gratum sibi patres Romanos populumque facturum, si
omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque 8
iudicaverint, ab quibus donum, animo ac voluntate
eorum, qui libentes darent, quam re maius ampliusque,
acciperent. Legatis gratiae actae pro munificentia 9
curaque; patera, quae ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.

Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per **33**
biennium fefellerat, Romae deprensus praecisisque
manibus dimissus, et servi quinque et viginti in cru- 2
cem acti, quod in campo Martio coniurassent. Indici
data libertas et aeris gravis viginti milia. Legati et 3
ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad deposcen-
dum Demetrium Pharium, qui bello victus ad eum
fugisset, et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum, quod 4
Poenum opibus auxiliisque suis iuvissent, simul ad
visendum ex propinquo, quae in Bois atque Insubribus
gererentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios 5
legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscen-
dum, aut, si diem proferri vellet, obsides accipiendos.
Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius 6
usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinquae
quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit aedem 7

Concordiae, quam per seditionem militarem biennio
ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad
8 id tempus non esse. Itaque duumviri ad eam rem
creati a M. Aemilio praetore urbano, C. Pupius et
Caeso Quinctius Flamininus, aedem in arce faciendam
locaverunt.

9 Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad
consules missae, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad
consules creandos Romam veniret: se in eam diem,
10 quam iussissent, comitia edicturum. Ad haec *a* consu-
libus rescriptum, sine detrimento rei publicae abscedi
non posse ab hoste: itaque per interregem comitia
habenda esse potius, quam consul alter a bello avoca-
11 retur. Patribus rectius visum est dictatorem a con-
sule dici comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L.
Veturius Philo M. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum
12 equitum dixit. Iis vitio creatis iussisque die quarto
decimo se magistratu abdicare, *res* ad interregnum
34 rediit. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium.
Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius Appi
filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius inter-
regno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac ple-
2 bis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem,
plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus
conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et dictatorio imperio
concusso aliena invidia splendentem, volgus extrahere
ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant,
ne se insectando sibi aequari adsuescerent homines.
3 Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C.
Terenti, criminando non senatum modo sed etiam
augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perfi-
cere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo con-

ciliabat: ab hominibus nobilibus per multos annos 4
bellum quaerentibus Hannibalem in Italiam adductum;
ab isdem, cum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi.
Cum quattuor legionibus universis pugnari *prospere* 5
posse apparuisset eo, quod M. Minucius absente Fabio
prospere pugnasset, duas legiones hosti ad caedem 6
obiectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas, ut pater patro-
nusque appellaretur, qui prius vincere prohibuisset
Romanos quam vinci. Consules deinde Fabianis arti- 7
bus, cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id foedus
inter omnes nobilis ictum, nec finem ante belli habi-
turos, quam consulem vere plebeium, id est hominem
novum, fecissent: nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem 8
initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo con-
temni patribus desierint, coepisse. Cui non apparere, 9
id actum et quaesitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur,
ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules 10
ambos ad exercitum morando quaesisse; id postea,
quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa,
expugnatum esse, ut vitiosus dictator per augures
fieret. Habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum 11
unum certe plebis Romanae esse, et populum liberum
habiturum ac daturum ei, qui mature vincere quam
diu imperare malit.

Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patri- **35**
ciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda L. Manlio Volsone
M. Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilium familiarum ple- 2
beis, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto, quorum alter
pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus
creatur, ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando con-
legae. Tum experta nobilitas parum fuisse virium in 3
conpetitoribus eius L. Aemilium Paulum, qui cum

M. Livio consul fuerat ex damnatione conlegae, ex qua
prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac mul-
4 tum recusantem ad petitionem conpellit. Is proximo
comitiali die concedentibus omnibus, qui cum Varrone
certaverant, par magis in adversandum quam conlega
5 datur consuli. Inde praetorum comitia habita: creati
M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius *Philus.* Philo
Romae iuri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter civis
6 Romanos et peregrinos evenit. Additi duo praetores,
M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albi-
7 nus in Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt, nec
cuiquam eorum praeter Terentium consulem mandatus
honos, quem non iam antea gessisset, praeteritis ali-
quot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore
nulli novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

36 Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem
copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo et nu-
mero et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quic-
2 quam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim. Decem milia
novorum militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii
novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gere-
3 rent; numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones
auctas milibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singu-
las adiectis, ut quina milia peditum, treceni equites
essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, pedi-
4 tis aequarent [septem et octoginta milia armatorum
et ducentos in castris Romanis, cum pugnatum ad
5 Cannas est], quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudqua-
quam discrepat, maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam
quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse vinci hostem
6 dictator praebuerat. — Ceterum priusquam signa ab
urbe novae legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire

atque inspicere iussi propter territos volgo homines
novis prodigiis: nam et Romae in Aventino et Ariciae 7
nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluvisse,
et multo cruore signa in Sabinis, Caere aquas *in* fonte
calido manasse; id quidem etiam, quod saepius acci- 8
derat, magis terrebat; et in via fornicata, quae ad
Campum erat, aliquot homines de caelo tacti exanima-
tique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati 9
a Paesto pateras aureas Romam adtulerunt. Iis sicut
Neapolitanis gratiae actae, aurum non acceptum.

Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno **37**
commeatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nun- 2
tiarunt caedem C. Flamini consulis exercitusque adla-
tam adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua
propria regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit.
Itaque, quamquam probe sciat magnitudinem populi 3
Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam
secundis esse, tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fideli- 4
busque sociis bella iuvari soleant, misisse; quae ne
accipere abnuant magno opere se patres conscriptos
orare. Iam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam 5
auream pondo ducentum ac viginti adferre sese: acci-
perent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpe-
tuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta milia modium tritici, 6
ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent, et quantum
praeterea opus esset, quo iussissent, subvecturos. Mi- 7
lite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis
non uti populum Romanum; levium armorum auxilia
etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis: itaque 8
misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam
manum adversus Baliares ac Mauros pugnacesque
alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quo- 9

que addebant, ut praetor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam traiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur iis
10 ad auxilia Hannibali submittenda. Ab senatu ita responsum regi est, virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adiuvisse. Id pe-
11 rinde ac deberet gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam adlatum gratia rei accepta
12 non accepisse populum Romanum: Victoriam omenque accipere, sedemque ei se divae dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iovis optimi maximi. In ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam volentem propitiamque, firmam ac
13 stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittariique et frumentum traditum consulibus. Quinqueremes ad ** navium classem, quae cum T. Otacilio propraetore in Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti additae, permissumque est, ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam traiceret.

38 Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum
2 *ab* sociis ac nomine Latino venirent milites. Tum, quod numquam antea factum erat, iure iurando ab tribunis militum adacti milites: nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat, iussu consulis con-
3 venturos neque iniussu abituros, et ubi ad decuriatum aut centuriatum convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter
4 sese decuriati equites centuriati pedites coniurabant sese fugae atque formidinis ergo non abituros, neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut repetendi
5 aut hostis feriendi aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos foedere ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem translatum.

Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, 6
consulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere, denuntiantis
bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus mansurum-
que in visceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios impera- 7
tores haberet, se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum.
Conlegae eius Pauli una, pridie quam urbe profici- 8
sceretur, contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua
nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum nisi id modo,
mirari se, [quodne] qui dux, priusquam aut suum aut 9
hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis
nosset, iam nunc togatus in urbe sciret, quae sibi
agenda armato forent, et diem quoque praedicere pos- 10
set, qua cum hoste signis conlatis esset dimicaturus.
Se, quae consilia magis res dent hominibus quam 11
homines rebus, ea ante tempus inmatura non praece-
pturum. Optare, ut, quae caute ac consulte gesta essent,
satis prospere evenirent; temeritatem, praeterquam 12
quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse.
Et sua sponte apparebat, tuta celeribus consiliis prae-
positurum; et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. 13
Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adlocutus
fertur.

"Si aut conlegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, **39**
L. Aemili, haberes, aut tu conlegae tui esses similis,
supervacanea esset oratio mea: nam et duo boni con- 2
sules etiam me indicente omnia e re publica fide*que*
vestra faceretis et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris
nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et conlegam 3
tuum et te talem virum intuenti mihi tecum omnis
oratio est, quem video nequiquam et virum bonum et
civem fore, si altera parte claudente re publica malis
consiliis idem ac bonis iuris et potestatis erit. Erras 4

enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Teren-
tio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes: nescio an
infestior hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat te,
5 cum tu cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus
locis ac temporibus sis certaturus, et adversus Hanni-
balem legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus
pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis militibus te sit
6 oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Fla-
mini memoria. Tamen ille consul demum et in pro-
vincia et ad exercitum coepit furere; hic, priusquam
peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc
quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem,
7 insanit. Et qui tantas iam nunc procellas proelia
atque acies iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter
armatam iuventutem censes facturum, et ubi extemplo
8 res verba sequitur? Atqui si hic, quod facturum se
denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego rem milita-
rem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior
9 alius Trasumenno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec
gloriandi tempus adversus unum est, et ego conte-
mnendo potius quam adpetendo gloriam modum exces-
serim; sed ita res se habet: una ratio belli gerendi
10 adversus Hannibalem est, qua ego gessi. Nec eventus
modo hoc docet — stultorum iste magister est —, sed
eadem ratio, quae fuit futuraque, donec res eaedem
11 manebunt, inmutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus,
in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena civium ac
sociorum sunt; armis viris equis commeatibus iuvant
12 iuvabuntque: id iam fidei documentum in adversis
rebus nostris dederunt; meliores prudentiores con-
13 stantiores nos tempus diesque facit; Hannibal contra
in aliena, in hostili est terra, inter omnia inimica

infestaque, procul ab domo ab patria; neque illi terra
neque mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla
moenia; nihil usquam sui videt; in diem rapto vivit;
partem vix tertiam exercitus eius habet, quem Hibe- 14
rum amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti,
nec his paucis iam victus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo, 15
quin sedendo superaturi simus eum, qui senescat in
dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecu-
niam habeat? Quam diu pro Gereonii, castelli Apu- 16
liae inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis moenibus *sedet?*
Sed ne adversus te quidem de me gloriabor: Servilius 17
atque Atilius, proximi consules, vide, quem ad modum
eum ludificati sint. Haec una salutis est via, L. Paule,
quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis quam
hostes facient. Idem enim tui, quod hostium milites 18
volent; idem Varro consul Romanus, quod Hannibal
Poenus imperator cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resi-
stas oportet. Resistes autem, *si* adversus famam
rumoresque hominum satis firmus steteris, si te neque
conlegae vana gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit.
Veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, exstingui num- 19
quam: *vanam* gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit.
Sine, timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, in- 20
bellem pro perito belli vocent. Malo, te sapiens hostis
metuat, quam stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem
contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet.
Nec ego, ut nihil agatur, *moneo,* sed ut agentem te 21
ratio ducat, non fortuna; tuae potestatis semper tu
tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis; neque
occasioni tuae desis neque suam occasionem hosti des.
Omnia non properanti clara certaque erunt; festinatio 22
inprovida est et caeca."

40 Adversus ea consulis oratio haud sane laeta fuit,
magis fatentis ea, quae diceret, vera quam facilia
2 factu esse. Dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem
fuisse; quid consuli adversus conlegam seditiosum ac
3 temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Se popu-
lare incendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse;
optare, ut omnia prospere evenirent; sed si quid
adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffra-
4 giis iratorum civium caput obiecturum. — Ab hoc
sermone profectum Paulum tradunt prosequentibus
primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem sua plebes
prosecuta, turba conspectior, cum dignitates deessent.
5 Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac
vetere castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent
propius Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne
6 robur virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium
aetatem excusantem Romam miserunt, Geminum Ser-
vilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium
7 peditum equitumque duobus milibus praeficiunt. Han-
nibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias
8 cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non
solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus supe-
rabat, sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui
erat, omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum
9 tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix decem
dierum, quod conpertum postea est, frumentum super-
esset, Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata
fuerit, si maturitas temporum exspectata foret.

41 Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio
materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis
praedatoribus tumultuario proelio ac procursu magis
militum quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum

orto haudquaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad 2
mille et septingenti caesi non plus centum Romano-
rum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse
sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul,
cuius eo die — nam alternis imperitabant — imperium 3
erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante emissum ho-
stem e manibus, debellarique, ni cessatum foret, potu-
isse. Hannibal id damnum haud aegerrime pati; quin 4
potius gaudere velut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris
consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia 5
ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles
discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum
militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus 6
insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil
praeter arma ferenti secum milite castra plena omnis
fortunae publicae privataeque relinquit, transque pro- 7
ximos montis laeva pedites instructos condit, dextra
equites, inpedimenta per convallem mediam traducit, 8
ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum castris
occupatum inpeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri 9
relicti in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius
spatium fuga praeciperet, falsa imagine castrorum,
sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in
locis consules voluisse.

Ubi inluxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde pro- **42**
pius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem
fecit. Tum conperta solitudine in castris concursus 2
fit ad praetoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium
adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reli-
querint, quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam
relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri 3
iuberent ducerentque ad persequendos hostis ac proti-

nus castra diripienda. Et consul alter velut unus
4 turbae militaris erat; Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere
providendum praecavendumque esse; postremo, cum
aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis susti-
nere posset, Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma
5 Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui ubi adequitavit portis,
subsistere extra munimenta ceteris iussis ipse cum
duobus equitibus vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia
6 cum cura renuntiat insidias profecto esse: ignes in
parte castrorum, quae vergat in hostem, relictos, taber-
nacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relicta; argen-
tum quibusdam locis temere per vias vel*ut* obiectum
7 ad praedam vidisse. Quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate
animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto
a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haud-
quaquam dux defuit: nam extemplo Varro signum
8 dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunc-
tanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, nuntiari
9 iam efferenti porta signa conlegae iussit. Quod quam-
quam Varro aegre est passus, Flamini tamen recens
casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata
10 navalis clades religionem animo incussit. Di prope
ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere inminen-
tem pestem Romanis: nam forte ita evenit, ut, cum
referri signa in castra iubenti consuli milites non pare-
11 rent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis,
qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores
excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad
dominos. Deductique ad consules nuntiant omnem
exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montis sedere
12 in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules
imperi potentes fecit, cum ambitio alterius suam pri-
mum apud eos prava indulgentia maiestatem solvisset.

Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Roma- **43**
nos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequi-
quam detecta fraude in castra rediit. Ibi plures dies 2
propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit, novaque con-
silia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex conlu-
vione omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum
oriebantur. Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta 3
vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum
querentiumque annonam primo, postremo famem, et
mercennarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de
transitione cepisse consilium fama esset, ipse etiam 4
interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agi-
tasse, ita ut relicto peditatu omni cum equitibus se
proriperet. Cum haec consilia atque hic habitus ani- 5
morum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in cali-
diora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul
ut, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia inpedi-
tiora levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte 6
ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in spe-
ciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contine-
ret Romanos. Sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium 7
omnibus ultra castra transque montis exploratis cum
relatum esset visum procul hostium agmen, tum de
insequendo eo consilia agitari coepta. Cum utriusque 8
consulis eadem, quae ante semper, fuisset sententia,
ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo praeter Ser-
vilium, prioris anni consulem, adsentiretur, *ex* maioris 9
partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Can-
nas urgente fato profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum 10
Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Volturno vento,
qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id 11
cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare

praecipue futurum erat, cum aciem derigerent, ipsi aversi, terga tantum adflante vento, in occaecatum pulvere offuso hostem pugnaturi.

44 Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum, ut ventum ad Cannas est, et in conspectu Poenum habebant, bina castra communiunt eodem ferme intervallo, quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante copiis divisis.
2 Aufidius amnis utrisque castris adfluens aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certa-
3 mine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidium erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium.
4 Hannibal spem nanctus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, derigit aciem lacessitque Numida-
5 rum procursatione hostis. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro *Paulo* speciosum timidis ac segnibus
6 ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret, testareturque deos hominesque, hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam vel*ut* usu cepisset Italiam; se constrictum a conlega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis
7 et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque inprovidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret: videret, ut, quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aeque in pugna vigerent manus.

45 Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras reciperet copias,

Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romano- 2
rum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam incondi- 3
tam turbam cum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac
tumultu fugassent, *in* stationem quoque pro vallo
locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero 4
adeo indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio iam etiam
castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne ex-
templo transirent flumen derigerentque aciem, tenuerit
Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum
fuerit. Itaque postero die Varro, cui sors eius diei 5
imperi erat, nihil consulto conlega signum proposuit
instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo,
quia magis non probare quam non adiuvare consilium
poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris 6
minoribus habuerant, copias suis adiungunt atque ita
instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu — id erat flumini
propius — Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites;
laevom cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, 7
ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt;
iaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima
acies facta. Consules cornua tenuere, Terentius lae- 8
vom, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna
tuenda data.

Hannibal luce prima Baliaribus levique alia arma- **46**
tura praemissa transgressus flumen, ut quosque tra-
duxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque equites 2
prope ripam laevo in cornu adversus Romanum equi-
tatum, dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media 3
acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua
essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani.
Afros Romanam [magna ex parte] crederes aciem: ita 4
armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex

5 parte ad Trasumennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque
scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispares ac dissimiles
gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano,
punctim magis quam caesim adsueto petere hostem,
brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante alios
habitus gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum
6 tum specie terribilis erat. Galli super umbilicum
erant nudi; Hispani linteis praetextis purpura tuni-
cis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. Numerus
omnium peditum, qui tum steterunt in acie, milium
7 fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus
praeerant, sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; me-
diam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit.
8 Sol seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita
stetere, peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat,
Romanis in meridiem Poenis in septemtrionem versis;
9 ventus — Volturnum regionis incolae vocant — adver-
sus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora vol-
vendo prospectum ademit.

47 Clamore sublato procursum *ab* auxiliis et pugna
levibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum
Gallorum Hispanorum*que* laevom cornu cum dextro
Romano concurrit, minime equestris more pugnae:
2 frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia nullo
circa ad evagandum relicto spatio hinc amnis hinc
3 peditum acies claudebant. In derectum utrimque
nitentes, stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis,
vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna
iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen
quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites
4 terga vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta
est peditum pugna, primo et viribus et animis par,

dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem 5
Romani, diu ac saepe conisi, obliqua fronte acieque
densa inpulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque
parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie. Inpulsis 6
deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institere, ac
tenore uno per praeceps pavore fugientium agmen in
mediam primum aciem inlati, postremo nullo resi-
stente ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque 7
reductis alis constiterant media, qua Galli Hispanique
steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut 8
pulsus aequavit frontem primum, dein cedendo etiam
sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant,
inruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumde-
dere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo
hostis. Hinc Romani, defuncti nequiquam proelio 9
uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga cecide-
rant, et adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non 10
tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusos,
sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugna-
bant. Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum **48**
equites adversus Numidas steterant, consertum proe-
lium erat, segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude.
Quingenti ferme Numidae, praeter solita arma telaque 2
gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfuga-
rum cum ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequi-
tassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et iaculis 3
ante pedes hostium proiectis in mediam aciem accepti
ductique ad ultimos considere ab tergo iubentur. Ac
dum proelium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manse-
runt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupa- 4
verat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quae passim inter
acervos caesorum corporum strata erant, aversam ado-

riuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites
caedentes stragem ingentem ac maiorem aliquanto
5 pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Cum alibi terror ac
fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe proelium esset,
Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praeerat, subductos ex media
acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna
6 erat, ad persequendos passim fugientis mittit, Hispa-
nos et Gallos equites Afris prope iam fessis caede
magis quam pugna adiungit.

49 Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim
2 proelio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit
saepe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proe-
lium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis,
3 omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum
equom vires deficiebant. Tum denuntianti cuidam,
iussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse
Hannibalem ferunt "quam mallem, vinctos mihi tra-
4 deret." Equitum pedestre proelium, quale iam haud
dubia hostium victoria, fuit, cum victi mori in vestigio
mallent quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam
5 irati trucidarent, quos pellere non poterant. Pepule-
runt tamen iam paucos superantis et labore ac vulne-
ribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad
6 fugam qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribu-
nus militum cum praetervehens equo sedentem in
7 saxo cruore oppletum consulem vidisset, "L. Aemili"
inquit, "quem unum insontem culpae cladis hodiernae
dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi
virium aliquid superest, *et* comes ego te tollere possum
8 ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte con-
sulis feceris; etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctus-
9 que est." Ad ea consul: "Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli,

macte virtute esto; sed cave, frustra miserando exi-
guum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi absumas.
Abi, nuntia publice patribus, urbem Romanam muniant 10
ac, priusquam victor hostis advenit, praesidiis firment;
privatim Q. Fabio Aemilium praeceptorum eius memo-
rem et vixisse adhuc et mori. Memet in hac strage 11
militum meorum patere expirare, ne aut reus iterum
e consulatu sim aut accusator conlegae exsistam, ut
alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam." Haec 12
eos agentis prius turba fugientium civium, deinde
hostes oppressere; consulem ignorantes, quis esset,
obruere telis, Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus.
Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem milia hominum 13
in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in vicum
ipsum Cannas perfugerunt; qui extemplo a Carthalone
atque equitibus nullo munimento tegente vicum cir-
cumventi sunt. Consul alter seu forte seu consilio 14
nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum quinquaginta
fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quin- 15
que milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septingenti
equites, et tanta*dem* prope civium sociorumque pars,
caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. 16
Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni
militum, consulares quidam praetoriique et aedilicii
— inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium
numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot
annis ante *consul* fuerat —, octoginta praeterea aut 17
senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in
senatum legi deberent, cum sua voluntate milites in
legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria milia 18
peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur. —
Haec est pugna *Cannensis*, Aliensi cladi nobilitate par, **50**

2 ceterum ut illis, quae post pugnam accidere, levior,
quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior
3 foediorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem pro-
didit, ita exercitum servavit; ad Cannas fugientem
consulem vix quinquaginta secuti sunt, alterius mori-
entis prope totus exercitus fuit.

4 Binis in castris cum multitudo semiermis sine duci-
bus esset, nuntium, qui in maioribus erant, mittunt,
dum proelio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies
nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno
5 agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eam sententiam alii
totam aspernari: cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos
non venire, cum aeque coniungi possent? Quia vide-
licet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum
6 quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obicere. Aliis
non tam sententia displicere quam animus deesse.
P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum "capi ergo
mavultis" inquit "ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste,
aestimarique capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab inter-
rogantibus, Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut
ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos quaeratur?
7 Non tu, si quidem L. Aemili consulis, qui se bene
mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum
virorum, qui circa eum cumulati iacent, cives estis.
8 Sed antequam opprimit lux, maioraque hostium ag-
mina obsaepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque
9 inconpositi obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque
audacia *via* fit quamvis per confertos hostis. Cuneo
quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil
obstet, disicias. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet
10 ipsos et rem publicam salvam vultis." Haec ubi dicta
dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque facto per medios

vadit hostis; et, cum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, 11
Numidae iacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis in
maiora castra ad sescentos evaserunt, atque inde pro-
tinus alio magno agmine adiuncto Canusium incolumes
perveniunt. Haec apud victos magis impetu animo- 12
rum, quos ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam
ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cuiusquam agebantur.

Hannibali victori cum ceteri circumfusi gratularen- **51**
tur suaderentque, ut tanto perfunctus bello diei quod
relicum esset noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse
sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal prae- 2
fectus equitum, minime cessandum ratus, "immo ut,
quid hac pugna sit actum, scias, die quinto" inquit,
"victor in Capitolio epulaberis. Sequere: cum equite,
ut prius venisse quam venturum sciant, praecedam."
Hannibali nimis laeta res est visa maiorque, quam ut 3
eam statim capere animo posset. Itaque voluntatem
se laudare Maharbalis ait; ad consilium pensandum
temporis opus esse. Tum Maharbal: "Non omnia 4
nimirum eidem di dedere: vincere scis, Hannibal;
victoria uti nescis." Mora eius diei satis creditur
saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.

Postero die, ubi primum inluxit, ad spolia legenda 5
foedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insi-
stunt. Iacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim 6
equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat
aut fuga. Adsurgentes quidam ex strage media cru-
enti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vul-
nera, ab hoste oppressi sunt; quosdam et iacentis 7
vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt,
nudantis cervicem iugulumque et relicum sanguinem
iubentes haurire; inventi quidam sunt mersis in effos- 8

sam terram capitibus, quo sibi ipsos fecisse foveas
obruentisque ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiri-
9 tum apparebat. Praecipue convertit omnes substratus
Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus naso
auribusque laceratis, cum, manibus ad capiendum
telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa laniando denti-
bus hostem expirasset.

52 Spoliis ad multum diei lectis Hannibal ad minora
ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum brachio
2 obiecto flumine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus
labore vigiliis vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius
3 spe deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque equos
traderent, in capita Romana trecenis nummis quadri-
gatis, in socios ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut eo
pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in
castra hostis acceperunt, traditique in custodiam
4 omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus
teritur, interea cum ex maioribus castris, quibus satis
virium et animi fuit, ad quattuor milia hominum et
ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per
agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfu-
gissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem con-
5 dicione qua altera tradita hosti. Praeda ingens parta
est, et praeter equos virosque et si quid argenti —
quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat: nam ad
vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, ute
bantur — omnis cetera praeda diripienda data est.
6 Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suo-
rum iussit. Ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortissimo-
rum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisi-
tum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.
7 Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula no-

mine Busa, genere clarā ac divitiis, moenibus tantum
tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento veste viatico
etiam iuvit, pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello per-
fecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt. Ceterum cum **53**
ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus
de legione prima, cuius pater priore anno dictator
fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et 2
P. Cornelius Scipio et de legione tertia Ap. Claudius
Pulcher, qui proxime aedilis fuerat, omnium consensu 3
ad P. Scipionem admodum *adulescentem et ad* Ap.
Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus consul- 4
tantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P.
Furius Philus, consularis viri filius, nequiquam eos
perditam spem fovere; desperatam conploratamque 5
rem esse publicam: nobiles iuvenes quosdam, quorum
principem L. Caecilium Metellum, mare ac naves spec-
tare, ut deserta Italia ad regum aliquem transfugiant.
Quod malum, praeterquam atrox, super tot clades 6
etiam novum, cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos de-
fixisset, qui aderant, et consilium advocandum de eo
censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio iuvenis,
fatalis dux huiusce belli; audendum atque agendum 7
non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse: irent secum
extemplo armati, qui rem publicam salvam vellent:
nulla verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur, hostium castra 8
esse. Pergit ire sequentibus paucis in hospitium 9
Metelli et, cum concilium ibi iuvenum, de quibus
adlatum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita consul-
tantium gladio "ex mei animi sententia" inquit "ut 10
ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram, neque
alium civem Romanum deserere patiar; si sciens 11
fallo, tum me, Iuppiter optimus maximus, domum

12 familiam remque meam pessimo leto adficiat. In haec
verba, L. Caecili, iures postulo ceterique, qui adestis:
qui non iuraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse
13 sciat." Haud secus pavidi, quam si victorem Hanni-
balem cernerent, iurant omnes custodiendosque semet
ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

54 Eo tempore, quo haec Canusii agebantur, Venusiam
ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti pedites
equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, perve-
2 nere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne
accipiendos curandosque cum divisissent, in singulos
equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos
vicenos et pediti denos et arma, quibus deerant, dede-
3 runt, ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta,
certatumque, ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusi-
4 nus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busae multi-
tudo faciebat, et iam ad decem milia hominum erant.
5 Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incolumem esse al-
terum consulem acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mit-
tunt, quantae secum peditum equitumque copiae
essent, sciscitatumque simul, utrum Venusiam adduci
6 exercitum an manere iuberet Canusii. Varro ipse
Canusium copias traduxit; et iam aliqua species con-
sularis exercitus erat, moenibusque se certe, etsi non
armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri.

7 Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium
sociorumque, sed occidione occisum cum *consulibus*
duobus exercitum deletasque omnes copias adlatum
8 fuerat. Numquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumul-
tusque intra moenia Romana fuit. Itaque, ne suc-
cumbam oneri, neque adgrediar narrare, quae edis-
9 sertando minora vero faciam. Consule exercituque ad

Trasumennum priore anno amisso non vulnus super
vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus
duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur, nec ulla
iam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse; Han- 10
nibalis Apuliam Samnium ac iam prope totam Italiam
factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis
non obruta esset. Conpares aut cladem ad Aegatis 11
insulas Carthaginiensium proelio navali acceptam, qua
fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere et vectigalis ac sti-
pendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut pugnam adversam in
Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit: nulla
ex parte conparandae sunt, nisi quod minore animo
latae sunt. P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius prae- **55**
tores senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de
urbis custodia consulerent: neque enim dubitabant 2
deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandam Romam,
quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Cum in 3
malis sicuti ingentibus ita ignotis ne consilium qui-
dem satis expedirent, obstreperetque clamor lamen-
tantium mulierum, et nondum palam facto vivi mortu-
ique per omnes paene domos promiscue conplorarentur,
tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites expeditos et 4
Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percunc-
tando — aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos
fore — referant, quae fortuna consulum atque exerci-
tuum sit, et, si quid dii inmortales, miseriti imperi, 5
relicum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint;
quo se Hannibal post proelium contulerit, quid paret,
quid agat acturusque sit. Haec exploranda noscenda- 6
que per inpigros iuvenes esse: illud per patres ipsos
agendum, quoniam magistratuum parum sit, ut tumul-
tum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas

publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque
7 limen cogant, conploratus familiarum coerceant, silen-
tium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad
praetores deducendos curent, suae quisque fortunae
8 domi auctorem expectent, custodesque praeterea ad
portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbe,
cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus
salvis salutem sperare. Ubi conticuerit [recte] tu-
multus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulen-
dumque de urbis custodia esse.

56 Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, sub-
motaque foro *per* magistratus turba patres diversi ad
sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litterae
2 a C. Terentio consule adlatae sunt: L. Aemilium
consulem exercitumque caesum; sese Canusii esse
reliquias tantae cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem;
ad decem milia militum ferme esse incompositorum
3 inordinatorumque; Poenum sedere ad Cannas in
captivorum pretiis praedaque alia nec victoris animo
4 nec magni ducis more nundinantem. Tum privatae
quoque per domos clades vulgatae sunt, adeoque
totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium
Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere
est fas, nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers
5 luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia
quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus
6 consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum
cum sedato urbis tumultu revocati in curiam patres
essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia litterae adlatae sunt ab
T. Otacilio propraetore, regnum Hieronis classe Punica
7 vastari; cui cum opem inploranti ferre vellet, nuntia-
tum sibi esse aliam classem ad Aegatis insulas stare

paratam instructamque, ut, ubi se versum ad tuendam 8
Syracusanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam adgrederentur: itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

Litteris consulis praetorisque *lectis censuerunt* **57**
praetorem M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praeesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum scribendumque consuli, ut, cum praetori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Romam veniret.
Territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodi- 2
giis, tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri conpertae, et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet
ipsa mortem consciverat: L. Cantilius scriba ponti- 3
ficis, quos nunc minores pontifices adpellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio caesus erat, ut inter verbera exspi-
raret. Hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodi- 4
gium versum esset, decemviri libros adire iussi sunt,
et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est 5
sciscitatum, quibus precibus suppliciisque deos possent placare, et quaenam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordi-
naria facta; inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et 6
Graeca in foro bovario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consaeptum, iam ante hostiis humanis,
minime Romano sacro, inbutum. Placatis satis, ut 7
rebantur, deis M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat,
Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent, mittit; ipse, legione 8

classica — ea legio tertia erat — cum tribunis militum
Teanum Sidicinum praemissa, classe tradita P. Furio
Philo conlegae paucos post dies Canusium magnis
9 itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate
patrum dictus M. Iunius et Ti. Sempronius magister
equitum dilectu edicto iuniores ab annis septemdecim
et quosdam praetextatos scribunt. Quattuor ex his
10 legiones et mille equites effecti. Item ad socios Lati-
numque nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos
mittunt. Arma tela alia parari iubent, et vetera
11 spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et
formam novi dilectus inopia liberorum capitum ac
necessitas dedit: octo milia iuvenum validorum ex
servitiis prius sciscitantes singulos, vellentne militare,
12 empta publice armaverunt. Hic miles magis placuit,
cum pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret.

58 Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad
Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum gerentis
intentus curis, cum captivis productis segregatisque
2 socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum,
benigne adlocutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos
quoque vocatos, quod numquam alias antea, satis miti
3 sermone adloquitur: non internecivum sibi esse cum
Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare.
Et patres virtuti Romanae cessisse, et se id adniti, ut
suae in vicem simul felicitati et virtuti cedatur.
4 Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere; pretium
fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos,
5 trecenos pediti, servo centenos. Quamquam aliquan-
tum adiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium, quo pepige-
rant dedentes se, laeti tamen quamcumque condicio-
6 nem paciscendi acceperunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum

decem deligi, qui Roman ad senatum irent, nec pignus
aliud fidei, quam ut iurarent se redituros, acceptum.
Missus cum his Carthalo, nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, 7
si forte ad pacem inclinaret animus, condiciones ferret.
Cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Ro- 8
mani ingeni homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, iuris iurandi
solvendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante noctem
comites adsequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nuntia- 9
tum est, Carthaloni obviam lictor missus, qui dictato-
ris verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem excederet finibus
Romanis. Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore **59**
datus est. Quorum princeps "M. Juni vosque, patres
conscripti" inquit, "nemo nostrum ignorat nulli um-
quam civitati viliores fuisse captivos quam nostrae:
ceterum, nisi nobis plus iusto nostra placet causa, non 2
alii umquam minus neclegendi vobis quam nos in
hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per 3
timorem arma tradidimus, sed, cum prope ad noctem
superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum proelium
extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei relicum 4
ac noctem insequentem fessi labore ac vulneribus
vallum sumus tutati; postero die, cum circumsessi ab 5
exercitu victore aqua arceremur, nec ulla iam per con-
fertos hostis erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas
duceremus quinquaginta milibus hominum ex acie
nostra trucidatis aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Ro-
manum militem restare, tunc demum pacti sumus 6
pretium quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus
nihil iam auxili erat, hosti tradidimus. Maiores 7
quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse, et
patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis,
legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia

8 Tarentum misisse. Atqui et *ad* Aliam cum Gallis et
ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade
infamis quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannensis
campos acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt, nec
supersumus pugnae, nisi in quibus trucidandis et
9 ferrum et vires hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de
nostris quidam, qui ne in acie quidem refugerunt, sed
praesidio castris relicti, cum castra traderentur, in
10 potestatem hostium venerunt. Haud equidem ullius
civis et commilitonis fortunae aut condicioni invideo,
nec premendo alium me extulisse velim —: ne illi
quidem, nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursus aliquod
praemium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes
non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusi constiterunt, se
nobis merito praetulerint gloriatique sint in se plus
11 quam in nobis praesidii rei publicae esse. Sed et
illis bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini et nobis etiam
promptioribus pro patria, quod beneficio vestro re-
12 dempti atque in patriam restituti fuerimus. Dilectum
ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis; octo milia servo-
rum audio armari. Non minor numerus noster est,
nec maiore pretio redimi possumus, quam ii emuntur
—: nam si conferam nos cum illis, iniuriam nomini
13 Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animad-
vertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti, si iam
duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis,
14 cui nos hosti relicturi sitis. Pyrrho videlicet, qui
hospitum numero captivos habuit? An barbaro ac
Poeno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existi-
15 mari potest? Si videatis catenas squalorem deformi-
tatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea
species moveat, quam si ex altera parte cernatis

stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri 16
potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiae
stantium cognatorum nostrorum exspectantiumque re-
sponsum vestrum. Cum ii pro nobis proque iis, qui
absunt, ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis
animum ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita
libertasque est? [Sed] si, me dius fidius, ipse in nos 17
mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, nihil
tamen nobis vita opus esse censeamus, cum indigni ut
redimeremur vobis visi simus. Rediere Romam quon- 18
dam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio capti; sed rediere
cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos sese
missis: redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non
aestimatus civis? Suum quisque animum *habet,* 19
patres conscripti. Scio in discrimine esse vitam cor-
pusque meum: magis me famae periculum movet, ne
a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus: neque enim vos
pretio pepercisse homines credent."

Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quae in **60**
comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad
curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos fratres co-
gnatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessi- 2
tas in foro turbae virorum inmiscuerat. Senatus
submotis arbitris consuli coeptus. Ibi cum sententiis 3
variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam
publice inpensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex pri-
vato redimi, si quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, 4
dandam ex aerario pecuniam mutuam, praedibusque
ac praediis cavendum populo censerent, tum T. Man-
lius Torquatus, priscae ac nimis durae, ut plerisque 5
videbatur, severitatis, interrogatus sententiam ita
locutus fertur: "si tantummodo postulassent legati 6

pro iis, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redime-
rentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum brevi senten-
7 tiam peregissem. Quid enim aliud quam admonendi
essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus necessario ad
rem militarem exemplo servaretis. Nunc autem, cum
prope gloriati sint, quod se hostibus dediderint, prae-
ferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus sed etiam
iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque
ipsi C. Terentio consuli aecum censuerint, nihil vos
eorum, patres conscripti, quae illic acta sunt, ignorare
8 patiar. Atque utinam haec, quae apud vos acturus
sum, Canusii, apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum
testem ignaviae cuiusque et virtutis, aut unus hic
saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem
secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non
9 captivi in hostium potestate essent. Sed cum fessis
pugnando hostibus tum victoria laetis et ipsis ple-
risque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum
liberam habuissent, et septem milia armatorum homi-
num erumpere etiam *per* confertos hostes possent,
neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt, neque alium
10 sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius
Tuditanus non destitit monere adhortari eos, dum
paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium
esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem
sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in
11 sociorum urbes posse. Si, ut avorum memoria P.
Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si, ut nobis
adulescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma
trecentis voluntariis, cum ad tumulum eos capiendum
situm inter medios duceret hostis, dixit "moriamur,
milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione cir-

cumventas legiones," si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, 12
nec viros equidem nec Romanos vos ducerem, si nemo
tantae virtutis exstitisset comes. Viam non ad glo- 13
riam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demonstrat;
reduces in patriam ad parentes ad coniuges ac liberos
facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis animus: quid, si 14
moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta
milia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die caesa
iacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil
umquam movebit; si tanta clades vilem vitam non
fecit, nulla faciet. [Et] liberi atque incolumes desi- 15
derate patriam; immo desiderate, dum patria est,
dum cives eius estis. Sero nunc desideratis, deminuti
capite, abalienati iure civium, servi Carthaginiensium
facti. Pretio redituri estis eo, unde ignavia ac nequi- 16
tia abistis? P. Sempronium civem vestrum non
audistis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem; Hanniba-
lem post paulo audistis castra prodi et arma tradi
iubentem. Quam*quam quid* ego ignaviam istorum 17
accuso, cum scelus possim accusare. Non modo enim
sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere ac
retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi
inertis submovissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio 18
per civium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpen-
dum. Hos cives patria desideret? Quorum si ceteri
similes fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis, qui ad Cannas
pugnaverunt, civem haberet. Ex milibus septem 19
armatorum sescenti exstiterunt, qui erumpere auderent,
qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent, neque his
sescentis hostes obstitere: quam tutum iter duarum 20
prope legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse?
Haberetis hodie viginti milia armatorum Canusii

fortia fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quem
ad modum hi boni fidelesque — nam fortes ne ipsi
21 quidem dixerint — cives esse possunt? Nisi quis
credere potest aut favisse erumpentibus, qui, ne
erumperent, obsistere conati sunt, aut non invidere
eos cum incolumitati tum gloriae illorum per virtutem
partae, cum sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis
22 ignominiosae causam esse sciant. Maluerunt in ten-
toriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem exspectare,
cum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. *At* ad
erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda
23 fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noctesque
aliquot obsessi vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt;
tandem ultima ausi passique, cum omnia subsidia
vitae deessent adfectisque fame viribus arma iam
sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis
24 quam armis victi sunt. Ab orto sole hostis ad vallum
accessit; ante secundam horam, nullam fortunam
certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos.
25 Haec vobis istorum per biduum militia fuit. Cum *in*
acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, in castra refugerunt;
cum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt,
neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Et vos redima-
26 mus? Cum erumpere *e* castris oportet, cunctamini ac
manetis; cum manere, castra tutari armis necesse est,
27 et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non
magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo.
quam illos dedendos Hannibali, qui per medios hostis
e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se
patriae restituerunt."

61 Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque plerosque captivi cognatione attingebant, praeter

exemplum civitatis minime in captivos iam inde
antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homi-
nes movit, quia nec aerarium exhauriri, magna iam 2
summa erogata in servos ad militiam emendos arman-
dosque, nec Hannibalem maxime huiusce rei, ut fama
erat, egentem locupletari volebant. Cum triste 3
responsum, non redimi captivos, redditum esset no-
vusque super veterem luctus tot iactura civium adiec-
tus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibus*que* legatos ad
portam prosecuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, 4
quod fallaci reditu in castra iure iurando se exsolvis-
set. Quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est,
omnes censuerunt conprehendendum et custodibus
publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primo venisse; 5
de eis cum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur
in urbem necne, ita admissos esse, ne tamen iis senatus
daretur; morantibus deinde longius omnium spe alios 6
tris insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Cal-
purnium et L. Manlium; tum demum ab cognato 7
Scribonii tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis rela-
tum esse, nec censuisse redimendos senatum; et
novos legatos tris ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem 8
veteres remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi
nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi
religione sese exsolvissent; de iis dedendis magna
contentione actum in senatu esse, victosque paucis
sententiis, qui dedendos censuerint; ceterum proxu- 9
mis censoribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque con-
fectos esse, ut quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi extem-
plo consciverint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde
vita sed prope luce ac publico caruerint. Mirari 10

magis adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam, quid veri sit, discernere queas.

Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladibus
fuerit, vel ea res indicio *est, quod fides socio*rum, quae
ad eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit, nulla
profecto alia de re, quam quod desperaverant de
11 imperio. Defecere autem ad Poenos hi populi:
Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites
12 praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani, praeter hos
Uzentini et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini,
Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes
13 Galli. Nec tamen eae clades defectionesque sociorum
moverunt, ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos
fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum, nec
postquam is rediit renovavitque memoriam acceptae
14 cladis; quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas
fuit, ut consuli ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa ma-
xima fuisset, redeunti et obviam itum frequenter ab
omnibus ordinibus sit et gratiae actae, quod de re
15 publica non desperasset; qui *si* Carthaginiensium
ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.

PERIOCHA LIBRI XXII.

Hannibal per continuas vigilias in paludibus oculo amisso in Etruriam venit; per quas paludes quadriduo et tribus noctibus sine ulla requie iter fecit. C. Flaminius consul, homo temerarius, contra auspicia profectus, signis militaribus effossis, quae tolli non poterant, et ab equo, quem conscenderat, per caput devolutus, insidiis ab Hannibale circumventus ad Thrasymennum lacum cum exercitu caesus est. Sex milia, quae eruperant, fide ab Atherbale data perfidia Hannibalis vincta sunt. Cum ad nuntium cladis Romae luctus esset, duae matres ex insperato

receptis filiis gaudio mortuae sunt. Ob hanc cladem ex Sibyllinis libris ver sacrum votum. Cum deinde Q. Fabius Maximus dictator adversus Hannibalem missus nollet acie cum eo confligere, ne contra ferocem tot victoriis hostem *territos* adversis proeliis milites pugnae committeret, et opponendo se tantum conatus Hannibalis impediret, M. Minucius magister equitum, ferox et temerarius, criminando dictatorem tamquam segnem et timidum effecit, ut populi iussu aequaretur ei cum dictatore imperium; divisoque exercitu cum iniquo loco conflixisset et in maximo discrimine legiones eius essent, superveniente cum exercitu Fabio Maximo [discrimine] liberatus est. Quo beneficio victus castra cum eo iunxit et patrem eum salutavit idemque facere milites iussit. Hannibal, vastata Campania inter Casilinum oppidum et Calliculam montem a Fabio clusus, sarmentis ad cornua boum alligatis et incensis praesidium Romanorum, quod Calliculam insidebat, fugavit et sic transgressus est saltum. Idemque Fabi Maximi dictatoris, cum circumposita ureret, agro pepercit, ut illum tamquam proditorem suspectum faceret. Aemilio deinde Paulo et Terentio Varrone consulibus [et] ducibus cum maxima clade adversus Hannibalem ad Cannas pugnatum est, caesaque eo proelio Romanorum $\overline{\text{XLV}}$ cum Paulo consule et senatoribus XC et consularibus aut praetoribus aut aediliciis XXX. Post quae cum a nobilibus adulescentibus propter desperationem consilium de relinquenda Italia iniretur, P. Cornelius Scipio tribunus militum, qui Africanus postea vocatus est, stricto super capita deliberantium ferro iuravit se pro hoste habiturum eum, qui in verba sua non iurasset, effecitque, ut omnes non relictum iri a se Italiam iure iurando adstringerentur. Propter paucitatem militum $\overline{\text{VIII}}$ servorum armata sunt. Captivi, cum potestas esset redimendi, redempti non sunt. Praeterea trepidationem urbis et luctum et res in Hispania meliore eventu gestas continet. Opimia et Florentia Vestales virgines incesti damnatae sunt. Varroni obviam itum et gratiae actae, quod de re publica non desperasset.

NOTES

TO

BOOK XXI.

In the references to editors, F. = Fabri; L. = Luterbacher; Mg. = Madvig; T. = Tücking; W. = Weissenborn; Wfl. = Wölfflin. Other names are given in full. Näg. = Nägelsbach's Lateinische Stilistik. In references to the grammars, A. & G. = Allen & Greenough; G. = Gildersleeve; H. = Harkness.

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1. 1–5. Preface and historical introduction.

1. **parte**: ten books of Livy's history, 21–30, containing the account of the Second Punic War, form so important and integral a part of the whole as to deserve a special introduction. — **in principio summae totius**: corresponds to *in parte;* the simple abl. is also used, especially in temporal expressions, e.g. with *veris, belli;* cf. ch. 15. 4; 48. 10. — **totius**: attributive to *summae.* — **plerique**: used by Caesar, Cicero, and Sallust as a superlative, by Livy and the later writers often weakened to *multi, nonnulli.* — **rerum** (sc. *gestarum*, 2. 1. 1; praef. 1. 3) **scriptores**: writers who paid some attention to rhetorical form in distinction from the annalists (*auctores*, 10. 9. 12), who contented themselves with the bare statement of facts; perhaps Coelius Antipater, certainly Thucydides, 1. 1; cf. Sall. Jug. 5. — **quae . . . gesta sint**: not *quod . . . gestum sit;* cf. Sall. Jug. 14. 2, *Jugurtha homo omnium quos terra sustinet sceleratissimus.* By *umquam* the view is extended beyond Roman history. — **Hannibale duce**: although Hannibal was the leading spirit in the war, as implied in the position of these words and in the fact that the war is often called the "Hannibalic War," cf. *bellum Mithradaticum*, yet the Carthaginians, by accepting his leadership, *publico consilio* (ch. 18. 1) and by actually supporting him (ch. 21. 11; 49. 2 and 4; 23. 13. 7) were responsible for it. — **Carthaginienses**: placed first to represent them as the aggressors, refers to the state, the body politic; *Poeni*, as a name, to the people generally. At the close of the war the Carthaginians attempted to throw the blame upon Hannibal; cf. 30. 22. 1.

2. **neque . . . neque . . . et . . . et**: four reasons are given for the importance of the war, two negative and two affirmative; then follows a sentence introduced by *etiam*, giving the subjective reason for the fierceness of the struggle. — **opibus**: material resources, the ability to provide money and provisions, etc. — **virium aut roboris**: vigorous national strength, consisting in the unity, bravery, and patriotism of the orders, the probity of the leaders, and the strictness of discipline. States, like individuals, have their *pueritia*, *adulescentia*, *iuventus*, *senectus*, and Carthage and Rome were then in their prime. — **inter sese, sed**: the cacophony is relieved by the punctuation, as in 26. 34. 13; cf. ch. 22. 8, *post sese serpentem*. — **propius** and *proxime* are often used by Livy and Sallust as prepositions with the acc., as in ch. 24. 3; 25. 1. 11, *propius inopiam*; 2. 48. 5, *proxime formam latrocinii*. — **fuerint**: Livy often uses the perf. for the imperf. in consecutive clauses, to present rather a historic fact than a result; cf. ch. 2. 6; 15. 4; 25. 3; 22. 5. 8, &c. A. & G. 287, c.; G. 513; H. 495, VI.

3. The fifth reason for the importance of the war prepares the way for the historical introduction. — **ultro**: often denotes what happens beyond or contrary to expectation, and may be approximately translated by "actually," or here, "should presume." — **superbe avareque**: because the Romans, taking advantage of the straits of Carthage after the "Mercenary War," deprived her of Sardinia, and forced her to pay, in addition to the 2200 talents required at the close of the war in Sicily, an indemnity of 1200 talents ($1,400,000) for the expenses incurred by the Romans in preparing to prevent the Carthaginians from recovering Sardinia, which had revolted against them. Momms. Hist., Bk. III. 3.

4. **fama**: etymologically of oral tradition; cf. ch. 20. 9; 46. 10; here of the report of historians, as in ch. 22. 6; 22. 61. 5; 25. 17. 4, *varia est fama, alii . . . alii . . . tradunt*. The story here in question is variously reported. Pol. 3. 12. 2; Nepos, Hann. 2. 3; only Appian. Hisp. 9 says ἐλέγετο. — **annorum**: gen. of quality, as in 22. 60. 5. — **blandientem**: construed with *ut* as a verb of asking. — **Africo bello**: the failure of Carthage to pay her mercenaries at the close of the First Punic War, 241 B.C., led them to mutiny. They were joined by the African subjects of Carthage, and the

five years' struggle that followed was marked by such atrocious cruelties that it was called the "Inexpiable War." For a powerful description of this war, see Flaubert's *Salammbo;* cf. § 5. — **hostem fore**: the oath, as given in the best sources, was "never to be a friend to Rome" (35. 19. 3; Pol. 3. 11. 7; Nep. Hann. 2. 4), and this was what the father wished and the son could readily swear.

1. 5—**2**. 7, Hamilcar and Hasdrubal.

5. **ingentis spiritus**, *proud-spirited:* implying perhaps that Hamilcar aimed too high and overestimated his strength. — **amissae**: the use of perfect participles in agreement with nouns instead of verbal nouns with the genitive, though found in all writers, is specially characteristic of Livy; ch. 2. 6; 15. 2; 28. 5, &c.; A. & G. 292, a; G. 667, Rem. 2; H. 549, n. 2. With the loss of these islands went the control of the Mediterranean. Of Sicily, only the western part was given up; the eastern part was the kingdom of Hiero. — **nam**, *for he felt that:* a common brachylogy in Livy; cf. ch. 16. 3. Hamilcar was still unconquered on Mt. Eryx when Sicily was given up by treaty; hence *nimis celeri.* — **concessam**: evacuated by surrender in opposition to *Sardiniam fraude interceptam*, because the Romans then joined the revolted subjects of Carthage, and dishonorably kept the island; cf. § 3; 26. 51. 12, *furto;* 36. 31. 10, *per fraudem intercipere.* The dative is usually joined with *concedere* to denote the person benefited by the action. — **insuper**: besides the seizure of the island. The compound *superinponere* is used only in the literal meaning; e.g., 38. 56. 3, *statuam monumento.* See on 22. 2. 8; 51. 9.

2. 1. **his anxius curis**: resumes the thought of *angebant*, interrupted by the inf. clause; cf. ch. 57. 1. Hamilcar's distress was not solely on account of the Carthaginian losses, though these words do not refer to the future, but arose from his perception of the inevitable struggle between his country and Rome. Carthage's naval supremacy was gone, and Hamilcar's campaigns in Spain were for the purpose of creating a new base of operations against Rome. There were already Phoenician colonies in Spain, and the country was rich in mines and soldiers, so that here new armies might be provided without exhausting Carthage. — **sub recentem**, *immediately after.* In temporal expressions *sub* means "just before"

or "just after"; cf. ch. 18. 14; here strengthened by *recentem*. — **quinque annos**: from 241 to 237 B.C. According to Diodorus (25. 6), the war continued four years and four months; according to Pol. 1. 88. 7, three years and four months. Livy includes the time for the pacification of Africa, extending to Hamilcar's departure for Spain. — **novem annis**: so Pol. 2. 1. 7. In these years, to 228 B.C., Hamilcar had almost independent authority, and subdued for Carthage all the Spanish coast lying toward Africa. — **se . . . gessit**: as statesman and general.

2. **Hamilcare duce**: he had in fact prepared plans for a campaign against Rome, and advised with his son upon their execution. Pol. 3. 10. 7; 14. 10.

3. **mors Hamilcaris peropportuna**: the death of Hamilcar, who fell in battle (*caedes*, 24. 41. 3), was opportune for the Romans, as they were soon after engaged in the Gallic war in northern Italy, 225–222 B.C., but the delay was also helpful to the Carthaginians, as it enabled them to extend and consolidate their conquests in Spain, and as the Gauls in Italy, embittered by their defeat by the Romans, were the more ready to become the allies of Hannibal. — **pueritia**: an exaggeration, since Hannibal was eighteen years old. — **Hasdrubal**: he had come to Spain with Hamilcar as admiral; Pol. 2. 1. — **octo ferme**: till 221. — **flore aetatis**, *by his personal beauty*: causal abl. This story which Livy gives as a rumor, *uti ferunt*, is expressly said by Nepos, Ham. 3. 2, to have had its origin with the scandal-mongers. — **primo**: adverb corresponding with *inde*. — **conciliatus**: similarly Curtius, 7. 38, *admodum iuvenem aetatis flore conciliatum sibi*.

4. **animi**: in opposition to *flore aetatis* is with *profecto* epexegetic to *aliam indolem*. — **Barcinae**: this party named from Hamilcar Barca (lightning), and finding its support in the army and the common people, was the upholder of the national feeling against Rome. It wished to renew the war, and gained the upper hand after the weakness of the aristocratic party was shown in the Mercenary war. — **plus quam modicae**: like ch. 4. 9, *perfidia plus quam Punica*; cf. 2. 58. 5, *odisse plebem plus quam paterno odio*. — **haud sane voluntate**, *entirely against the will of*: cf. 22. 40. 1. — **principum**: rich merchants and capitalists whose gains depended on the continuance of peace with Rome.

5. **hospitiis**: a means of special influence with the pleasure-loving Spaniards. — **regulorum**: petty kings or princes ruling small districts. The diminutive also implies the ignorance of Rome concerning them. Even Thurrus, the most powerful of the Spanish princes, is called *regulus;* 40. 49. 5. Hasdrubal's second wife was the daughter of one of them. — **principum**: chieftains of tribal republics. — **armis**: implies the threat of war. Hasdrubal was a skilful orator (*consilio*), and the ease with which the combined diplomacy and arms of the Carthaginians overran Spain is in striking contrast to the subsequent long and bitter struggles of the Romans.

6. **barbarus**: according to Pol. 2. 36. 1, a Gaul. — **eum**: with *eo* in the same clause as in ch. 60. 5; others write *enim*. — **palam**: in broad daylight on the occasion of a hunt; Appian. Hisp. 8. Pol. *l. c.* says he was killed in his tent. — **ob**: often used by Livy of feeling as a moving cause. W.; cf. ch. 25. 2; 44. 2; 52. 5. — **obtruncati**: suggests cruelty on the part of Hasdrubal, while *palam interfecit* represents the deed of the slave as just revenge and not an assassination.

7. **sollicitandis**: not with hostile intent that he might subdue them, but corresponding with *conciliandis*, § 5, that he might arouse their interest in the Carthaginians. — **foedus**: Livy represents this treaty as a renewal of the one made at the close of the First Punic War, 241 B.C., by which each party was prohibited from enlisting mercenaries in, or making inroads upon, the territories of the other. This treaty was made by Hasdrubal without reference to the Senate at Carthage; ch. 19. 3. It provided simply for a boundary beyond which in the future neither party should extend its conquests or alliances. At that time the Po was the northern boundary of Roman power, and there were no Roman possessions in Spain. Most of the Carthaginian conquests were south of the Ebro; ch. 5. 3. — **amnis Hiberus**: inversion of the usual order, since the stream was the boundary; ch. 56. 7; 22. 2. 2; 1. 3. 5. — **mediis**: Livy as well as other old historians had an incorrect idea of the geographical position of Saguntum, since it lay a hundred miles south of the Ebro; yet the word does not mean "neutral," as in 40. 20. 4. — **libertas**, *independence:* Livy here passes over the fact that the Saguntines had made a compact

with Rome, according to Pol. 3. 30. 1, many years before; hence, ch. 6. 4, *sociis populi Romani*; 7. 3, *fidem socialem*; 19. 9, Periocha 21.

3–4. Hannibal.

3. 1. in Hasdrubalis locum: the natural conclusion would have been *quin Hannibal succederet*, but there is an anacoluthon, and the opening clause means "as to Hasdrubal's successor," a turn in the simpler style often given by *de*. — **praerogativam:** the word indicates both the century that voted first and also the first choice. The right of voting first was considered at Rome as one of great importance, and was determined in the elections by lot. Generals for the Carthaginian armies were at an earlier time appointed by the Senate, but on the decay of aristocratic influence after the Mercenary war, the right was to a certain extent transferred to the army; Pol. 1. 82. 5, 12. The rise of the Barcine party and the absence of the army in Spain led to the custom that the choice of the commander-in-chief should be made provisionally by the higher officers in the army (senators?), subject to ratification (*favor*) by the commonalty at Carthage. It is hardly probable that the popularity of the young Hannibal could have been so great as to warrant the statement of the text, though judicious use of the wealth obtained in Spain may have gained him many supporters. The word *praerogativa* is transferred by Livy from Roman to Carthaginian usage. Similarly in this section, *praetorium*, *imperator*, *plebis*; § 2, *senatus*; ch. 5. 5, *socii*; 12. 7, *praetor*; 14. 2, *cohors*; 54. 3, *turmis manipulisque*; 22. 6. 3, *legio*; and others. — **extemplo:** immediately after Hasdrubal's death; reverts to ch. 2. 6. — **iuvenis:** Hannibal was twenty-six years old. — **sequeretur:** cf. 3. 51. 8, *ne comitiorum militarium praerogativam urbana comitia sequerentur*; 10. 22. 1.

2. **vixdum**, *when scarcely*: cf. *nondum, hauddum, necdum* and the Livian *nullusdum* in 29. 11. 1. Livy here follows a different tradition, and one inconsistent with his other statements. This account makes Hannibal return to Carthage after the death of Hamilcar, but in 30. 37. 9 Livy represents Hannibal as saying to the Carthaginians, *novem annorum a vobis profectus, post sextum et tricesimum annum redii*. — **ad se:** to Spain. — **accersierat:** at least three years before (*triennio*, ch. 4. 10). — **senatu:** this body (γερουσία)

consisted of the *Suffetes*, the two "judges" elected annually (28. 37. 2; 30. 7. 5), and twenty-eight *Gerusiasts*. — **nitentibus**: the common word for party strife, both lawful and unlawful, also *adniti*. — **adsuesceret**: corresponds like *florem aetatis* and *rudimento*, § 4, with *vixdum puberem*.

3. **Hanno**: the leader of the Roman party in Carthage called the "Great," the unsuccessful rival of Hamilcar in the Mercenary war. — **et . . . et**: the sharp contrast of the two statements is emphasized by the following *ancipitis*. — **quod petit**, *his request:* the clause is used as a substantive; hence the indicative.

4. **admiratione**: in Livy *mirari* means "to be surprised," "to wonder at"; *admirari* is "to admire"; *admiratio* is "admiration," and also "surprise," hence joined, 7. 10. 12 and 39. 4, with *pavor* and *timor*. — **iusto iure** = *suo iure:* ch. 17. 8. — **pro**, *as if that were*. — **praetorum**, *leaders*, *generals*, with its original meaning from *praeire*.

5. **an hoc timemus**: the second reason for *non censeo*. — **Hamilcaris filius**, *the son of an Hamilcar*. — **nimis sero**: corresponding to *parum mature*, and forming the real predicate, *that he may be too late in seeing*. — **regni**: the Carthaginian generals in Spain, supported by the army which they themselves maintained, gained a practically independent position. Therefore Livy does not apply to their power the word *potestas* (official authority), but calls it, § 2, *opes*, here, and in ch. 10. 4, where party spirit colors the speech, the word, so hateful to Roman ears, *regnum*, to which *serviamus* corresponds. The work of Hamilcar was so great and permanent that Cato, reviewing it a generation later, exclaimed that there was "no king like Hamilcar Barca." Hanno would indicate the danger of this power to Carthage by the climax *inmodica regni, hereditarii, serviamus*. In opposition to *inmodica* stand *sine legibus*, to *regni*, *sub magistratibus*, and to *serviamus, aequo iure*.

6. **quandoque**: a shortened *quandocunque, ever*.

4. 1. **optimus quisque** = *omnes boni*, in a political sense the *optimates*, and from Livy's standpoint in a moral sense, hence *meliorem*. — **statim**: as often for emphasis, see on 22. 28. 9; yet oftener *primo adventu* without *statim*. — **missus . . . convertit**: the account of Coelius, who brings Hannibal to Spain in response to the call of Hasdrubal (cf. *accersierat*, ch. 3. 2, and *domi tenendum*, ch. 3. 6, not

domum revocandum), while Polybius, whom Livy elsewhere follows, says that Hannibal grew up in camp from his ninth year; ch. 3. 2.

2. **veteres**: veterans of the First Punic War who remembered Hamilcar's coming to Sicily. Hannibal's assumption of the chief command in Spain and his entrance upon the stage of universal history is taken by Livy as an opportunity to characterize him with special reference to his qualities as a soldier and a general. Similar characterizations occur elsewhere, 22. 26. 1–4, and in other writers, notably Sallust. In recording a person's death, Livy often adds a review of his character, e.g., of Fabius, 30. 26. 7–10. Polybius with his fondness for excursus often puts such characterizations into the middle of his story, but Tacitus enlarges them to a genuine necrology. — **vigorem . . . vim**, *the same commanding expression, the same fiery eye.* Note the alliteration, for which Livy had a special fondness; ch. 10. 12; 24. 4; 26. 3; 58. 2 and 10; 22. 5. 2; 30. 4; 43. 3; 45. 1 and often. The four members are arranged in pairs joined by *que*, the first two indicating the distinguishing personality, the last two the simple gift of nature. *Acies oculorum* (cf. 40. 58. 4) in distinction from *vis* means "sharpness of vision." This description is apparently taken from two sources, one friendly and one hostile to Hannibal, and is marked by its lively style. The historical infinitives introducing it, the short, crisp main sentences, their balanced arrangement, the many antitheses, and the frequent use of asyndeton give it great vigor. — **pater in se**, *his resemblance to his father; se* is abl. — **minimum momentum**: *the most unimportant factor; momentum* is seldom used of persons; 3. 12. 6; 28. 17. 10.

3. **diversissimas**: not "different," but "contradictory." — **parendum**: the common opposite of *imperare*. The word implies the habit of obedience, while *oboedire* refers to the single act; for the construction, A. & G. 301. R. — **discerneres**: the frequent vivid impf. for the plupf.; cf. 2. 35. 5; 43. 9; 22. 7. 12; 46. 4; A. & G. 311, n. 2; G. 252; H. 485, n. 1.

4. **praeficere**: without *militibus*, which would weaken the contrast between *Hasdrubal* and *milites;* also used absolutely; ch. 12. 1. — **fortiter ac strenue**: these two ideas, originally distinct (hence always connected by *ac*, *atque*, never by *que*), the former referring to mental quality, courage, the latter to energy in action, gradually

united to form the pattern of the *vir vere Romanus* (22. 14. 11). Cicero used more often *bonus et fortis;* see on 22. 37. 4 and cf. καλὸς κἀγαθός.

5. **audaciae . . . consilii**: Pol. 3. 47. 7, says that Hannibal was a general of incomparable daring and judgment.

6. **cibi**: Just. 32. 4. 10, *constat Hannibalem numquam aut cubantem cenasse aut plus quam sextario vini indulsisse.* — **discriminata**: archaic for *divisa, dispertita.* — **tempora**: perhaps *hours;* cf. 22. 27. 6.

7. **id**: sc. *temporis, only that;* position often gives such emphasis; cf. ch. 5. 11; 22. 38. 1; 42. 7. — **quieti**: cf. 22. 9. 5; Frontin. 4. 3. 7, *surgere de nocte solitus, ante noctem non requiescebat.* — **sagulo**: the diminutive implies that the simplicity of Hannibal's dress was below his rank; *sagulo gregali*, 7. 34. 15. — **custodias**: the extreme outposts. — **stationes**: the stronger pickets, from which the others were relieved; often of whole cohorts, and even of cavalry. Neither has necessary reference to the daytime, but *vigiliae* is not mentioned since Hannibal is represented as wearied by some expedition at night, and then sleeping in the day where all could see him.

8. **vestitus**: abstract, his general style of dress, often joined with *habitus; vestimentum* is concrete, a change of clothing including hat and shoes; cf. ch. 12. 5; *vestis*, clothing, also collectively in the singular, "wardrobe." — **inter aequales**, *among that of his comrades;* a common brachylogy. — **arma**, *what attracted attention was;* the antithetic asyndeton makes the sentence very vivid. — **conspiciebantur**: more forcible than *conspexerunt;* cf. § 7; 5. 23. 5; 22. 40. 4. — **equitum**: usually follows *peditum*, but its position is due to the preceding *equi*, and also to the fact that Hannibal was then the cavalry commander and a noted horseman. Nepos, Hann. 3. 1. — **idem**, *alike.* — **princeps**: temporal, but also local, as in 1. 26. 2, *princeps ibat, in the van.*

9. **has . . . aequabant**: the Romans never forgave Hannibal for the humiliation of their terrible defeats, or the extremity to which he reduced them. They rarely mentioned him without an epithet like *dirus, durus,* or *perfidus*, and their accounts of him are colored by their feelings. Livy's own accounts, however, 22. 7. 5; 25. 17. 17; 27. 28. 1, show the nobler side of Hannibal's nature in the

treatment of fallen enemies. See Momms. Hist. Bk. 3, ch. 4, and Niebuhr's Lectures on the Second Punic War. — **vitia**: the following were the national vices of the Carthaginians, but of one, *avaritia Poenorum*, 29. 6. 17, Hannibal was free. — **crudelitas**: cf. ch. 19. 9; 22. 50. 6; 59. 14. Yet in ch. 14. 3, Livy excuses Hannibal, and Polybius expressly says that this charge of the Romans is exaggeration. On the other hand, Livy commends *clementia* as the virtue of his people in ch. 60. 4; 26. 14. 2; 36. 27. 6. — **perfidia . . . Punica**: so 30. 32. 7; 42. 20; *P. versutiae*, 42. 47. 7; *P. fraus*, ch. 34. 1; 22. 48. 1; *P. astu*, 35. 14. 12; *P. religio*, 22. 6. 12; cf. § 9. On the contrary, *fides Romana* in 5. 27. 12; 33. 2. 5. If, however, Hannibal had broken his word, as charged, e.g., at the surrender of Victumulae, ch. 57. 13, it is incomprehensible that other towns, like Nuceria, 25. 15. 3, or that the Romans, after the battle of Cannae, 22. 52. 3 (also 23. 6), should have entered into negotiations with him. — **plus**: see on ch. 2. 4. — **nihil veri, nihil sancti**: *nihil* with a partitive gen. or *nullus* frequently supplies the lack of negative adjectives and substantives like "untruthfulness," "irreligion," "irreverence." — **nulla religio**: a lack of conscience; cf. ch. 21. 9.

10. **indole,** *birthright;* some of the qualities appeared only in his later life. The plural of this word is not used in good prose, and in Cicero always in connection with a genitive. — **vitiorum**: zeugma, since *indoles* is almost never used except in a good sense. — **meruit**: served as subordinate officer. — **videnda**: joined with *que* as a supplementary and less important idea.

5. Hannibal's operations in Spain, 221, 220 B.C., freely after Pol. 3. 13 and 14.

5. 1. **ceterum**: resumes ch. 3. 1 interrupted by the digression about Hannibal. *Ceterum* is used by Livy for *sed*, particularly in indicating the use of a new authority; ch. 57. 5. — **ex quo die**: the attraction of *dies* into the relative clause is common, especially in the phrase *quo die magistratum iniit*, as in 22. 9. 7. In ceremonial formulas the noun stands in both the main and the relative clause; so in a consular edict, 34. 55. 4; in a treaty, 34. 35. 3; cf. 6. 1. 11, *diem ante diem XV Kal. Sext. quo die Fabii caesi*. — **declaratus**: confirmed by the Carthaginian people in distinction from the nomination of the army (*appellatus*, ch. 3. 1). For *declaratus*,

provincia (*field of operations*), *mandatum* and *sociorum* (§ 5), see on *praerogativam*, ch. 3. 1. The Carthaginian Senate gave Hannibal no instructions, but silently acquiesced in his plans.

2. **prolatandum**: in Livy only temporal = *differre*, synonymous with *cunctantem*. *Proferre* elsewhere mostly local, e.g., *fines*.

3. **quibus oppugnandis**: simpler than *quorum urbe oppugnanda*, causal abl. *but since*. — **movebantur**, *would certainly take up*. The indicative is often used of actions that are represented as certain to occur under given circumstances. — **Olcadum**: on the upper Anas (Guadiana). — **ultra**: not often of a river boundary, as here and in ch. 7. 2; *trans* is more commonly used of a boundary line, e.g. *trans flumen, montem, vallum, maceriam*; see on 22. 43. 7. — **induxit**: from New Carthage in the direction of Toledo. — **rerum serie**, *by the course of events*, explained by *finitimis . . . gentibus*. — **iungendo**: absolute, "enlarging his possessions by successive additions of neighboring tribes"; Plin. Epist. 3. 19. 2, *sollicitat ipsa pulchritudo iungendi*; Hor. Ars. Poet., 242, *series iuncturaque*.

4. **Cartalam**: called Ἀλθαία by Polybius. — **quo metu** = *cuius rei metu*. A relative pronoun is sometimes put in agreement with a substantive, in a suggestive sense, instead of adding that which is suggested in the gen.; A. & G. 195, d.; G. 613; H. 450, 4, n. 3. — **stipendio inposito**: a war contribution, not the annual money tax imposed by the Carthaginians on the subject peoples. Note that the agent of *inposito*, i.e., Hannibal, is not the same as the subject of *accepere*. — **victor . . . praeda**: a common mode of speech (4. 34. 5; 35. 1. 11), without strict application, since Polybius, Livy's authority, says nothing of the plundering. For the adjective use of *victor*, see on ch. 40. 11. — **Carthaginem novam**: New Carthage, founded by Hasdrubal, 242 B.C., on a rocky promontory of southeastern Spain and strongly fortified, was the chief centre of the Carthaginian power in Spain. It was taken by the Romans 210 B.C.

5. **civium**: perhaps officers, since the army consisted almost wholly of subjects and mercenaries. — **vere primo**: of the year 220 B.C. In reverse order, ch. 21. 6. — **Vaccaeos**: the name of the people from the lack of a territorial name; cf. *Olcadum fines*, § 3; *Vaccaeis*, § 8, and *Brutii*, *in Bruttios*, *ager Bruttius* not *Bruttium*.

6. **Hermandica**: now Salamanca. *Arbocala* is not identified.

7. **profugi**: substantival, yet modified as an adjective by *ab Hermandica;* otherwise a genitive would have been used, cf. ch. 46. 2. This substantival use of adjectives is restricted in Cicero to *boni, improbi, docti, mortales*, and a few others. — **cum iunxissent**, *having joined.* One of the substitutes for our past active partic.

8. **agmen**, *column; grave praeda* synonymous with *inpeditum*, a statement lacking in Polybius; cf. ch. 47. 5.

9. The following description, compared with Pol. 3. 14. 4–9, shows that Livy made much freer with his authorities in such matters as this than in others. The Roman reader desired in these accounts the most detailed and lively report possible. Tac. Ann. 4. 33, *situs gentium, varietates proeliorum clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum.* — **quies** and **silentium**: joined, as in 1. 13. 4; 4. 18. 6. — **ab hostibus**: local, *on the side of.* — **ita . . . ut**, *in such a way . . . that:* the front of the ford was left open, and the infantry arranged behind a rampart above and below.

10. **inpeditum**: by the river; antithetic to *liber;* § 14. — **elephantos . . . quadriginta**, *the forty elephants;* parenthetical clauses, in which numerals and superlatives are placed, often replace the English "the."

11. **Carpetanorum**: one of the most powerful peoples of central Spain, composing the bulk of the enemy; hence *adpendicibus*, *contingents.* — **centum**: Polybius says, "more than ten myriads." — **invicta**: the conclusion of *si . . . dimicaretur.*

12. **multitudine**, *superior numbers;* as elsewhere, *numero.* — **freti**: often implies a misplaced confidence. — **id**: see on ch. 4. 7. — **ullius**: substantive, in place of *cuiusquam;* cf. 9. 2. 10.

13. **at**: for *et*; so. 10. 29. 3; Catull. 64. 252; Verg. Aen. 10. 362, *at parte ex alia.*

14. **quippe ubi**: refers to *medio alveo,* and is equivalent to *quippe in quo*, which Livy avoids, as *quippe qui* is seldom employed except in the nom. and acc. The infantry could gain no firm footing, but the cavalry raised above the stream had free use of arms and weapons. *Vado*, the shallows with a swift current, is opposed to *gurgites*, the deep places.

16. **a pavore**: the preposition is wanting in the manuscripts, but is supported by 2. 50. 10, *resperandi spatium recipiendique a pavore tanto animum;* 4. 25. 12, *respirare a minis;* 22. 18. 10, *ab continuis*

cladibus. — **fugam fecit**: *fugam facere* means both "to put to flight," as here and ch. 52. 10, and "to run away," as in 8. 9. 12.

17. **et iam**: seems to imply the conclusion of the campaign (220), though nothing is said of winter quarters. — **omnia**: so Nepos, Hann. 3. 2, *omnes gentes Hispaniae bello subegit;* but the tribes in the extreme north and northwest were still unsubdued. — **trans Hiberum**: see on § 3 and ch. 11. 3, and cf. ch. 19. 7; 26. 6.

6–15. 219 B.C. The siege and capture of Saguntum; the narrative, except ch. 15, is independent of Polybius.

The eight months' siege cannot be placed in the same year as the campaign against the Vaccaei and the Carpetani, and must belong to the following year, 219 B.C., since the march over the Alps and the battles on the Trebia and the Ticinus were in 218. Livy fell into error by following Coelius Antipater, but later he attempts to rectify the mistake, ch. 15, 3 f., and arranges events according to Polybius; cf. ch. 21. 1; 30. 9.

6. 1. **certamina**: at first only disputes about rights, in which the Saguntines became so involved that the Turdetani could demand redress; see ch. 12. 5. Appian, Hann. 3, says that Hannibal hired persons to accuse the Saguntines. — **serebantur**: sc. *ab Hannibale*, as shown by *litis sator*, § 2. *Serere* is a favorite metaphor, *certamina*, 2. 1. 5; *discordias*, 3. 40. 10; *crimina*, 24. 23. 10; *conloquia*, 24. 32. 4; *leges*, *instituta*, *rempublicam*, Cic. de Or. I. 14. 31. In 27. 41. 5, *certamina serere* has the meaning of "to engage in." — **Turdetanis**: a people of southern and southwestern Spain, and therefore not neighbors of the Saguntines, described in 34. 17. 2, as *inbelles*. Perhaps the name is wrong. Polybius 3. 1, represents Hannibal as claiming to attack Saguntum because the Romans had violated their treaty obligations by interfering in its affairs.

2. **orantes**: Livy often uses the present participle like the future to denote purpose; cf. 24. 29. 1; 25. 13. 2.

3. **et**: usually omitted between the names of consuls in announcements of elections (2. 16. 1; 19. 1), or when they serve the purpose of a date; cf. ch. 15. 5 and 6. These consuls belong to the year 218 B.C. In 219 the consuls were M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus; cf. ch. 15. 4. — **de republica rettulissent**: the formula for introducing a discussion on the condition or policy of the state. The subject of debate was introduced by the

consul or presiding officer, who called upon the senators to express their opinions. The envoys had retired before the discussion began; cf. 22. 60. 2. — **inspiciendas**: with *aspicere*, the standing expressions for diplomatic interference; cf. 27. 21. 7, *missus qui rem inspiceret ac si digna videretur* (then) *bellum transferret;* 39. 48. 5, *sociorum res aspicere.*

4. **quibus si** = *qui, si iis;* a combined relative and conditional clause, or a clause containing two relative words, is a favorite construction in Latin; cf. *quibus cum*, § 2, *qui cum*, § 3. A. & G. 201, e.; G. 612; H. 453, 3.

5. **hac legatione**: resumes the thought of *placuisset*, and makes the close of the period clear. — **spe**, *expectation.*

6. **Africam**: the senators who wished to declare war at once could not believe that Hannibal would attack Saguntum without the consent of his government. — **decernentes**, *proposing to decree.* — **intenderant**: merely to vary *censebant* and *censerent*, § 7. The plupf., because the purpose preceded the voting, "they had thought and therefore voted."

7. **non temere**: the deliberation of a single session of the senate was not enough; cf. 23. 20. 9, *vicit ea pars quae nihil raptim nec temere agendum consulendumque de integro censuit.* The Romans in the year 219 were also engaged in the Illyrian war. — **exspectandosque legatos**: the return of the envoys who should be immediately sent (*maturius*, § 8), possibly an embassy of the Saguntines who should confirm the report of the siege; in that case *adlatum est*, § 5, would imply rumor, not official report. *Que* is adversative, as usual when connecting an affirmative and a negative clause, both being parts of a general statement.

8. **ad Hannibalem**: of course with the demand of § 4, modified to suit the altered circumstances, *ut a Sagunto recederet. Ad ducem deposcendum* refers only to *Carthaginem.* — **absisteretur**: Caesar and Sallust use only *desistere;* Livy also has *desistere bello* in 7. 40. 12; Curtius, 10. 7. 18, *absistere bello.* — **deposcendum**: the instructions of the first embassy, which Polybius says left Rome in the winter of 220–219 before the siege of Saguntum, were not so far reaching, but limited to a military examination at Saguntum and to diplomacy at Carthage; cf. the report of the second embassy; ch. 16. 1, and ch. 18. 4 and 5; 30. 3; Cic. Phil. 5. 10. 27.

7. 1. **parant consultantque**: the Romans prepared to send an embassy, and deliberated on the best course to pursue. The two words, however, merely denote a general state of unreadiness in contrast to the activity of Hannibal. Livy commonly joins *parare* with *agere* (*agitare*), cf. 22. 55. 5; 23. 39. 1; 26. 41. 6; 29. 4. 7. This expression conveys a reproach, intensified by *summa vi*, for the sluggishness of the Romans. It is directly expressed by a speaker in 31. 7. 3. — **Saguntum**: always neuter in Latin prose; in poetry and in Florus, *Saguntus* or *Saguntos* (fem.); in Strabo, Σάγουντον; in Pol. Ζάκανθα; cf. *Ilium* and *Ilios*. The Latinizing of the name belongs to a time when the different κ-sounds were not distinguished, and the Romans lacked υ, ζ, θ. The town lay in a fertile country. It was afterward rebuilt and famous for its red pottery. Its ancient walls, *muri veteres*, gave rise to its modern name Murviedro.

2. **oriundi**: sc. *cives* from *civitas*, synesis frequent in Livy; cf. *iuventus obsistebant*, § 7. — **dicuntur**: the Grecian origin of the town, even if there had been an earlier Phoenician settlement, is established beyond doubt by historical proofs (Strabo, 159, Appian, Hisp. 7), and by existing coins similar to those of Massilia. — **ab Ardea** = *Ardeatium*, join with *Rutulorum*, which limits *generis*. The dependence of the Saguntines is thus made more apparent.

3. **tantas**: without the following *ut*, because it refers to *opulentissima*. "The state had such resources that it was the richest." The cause of a statement already made is often introduced by *tantus* or *adeo*; cf. ch. 11. 1. — **maritimis**: of trading, in 34. 36. 3 of piracy. — **terrestribus**: of agriculture and mining. — **multitudinis**: the regular word for *population*. — **disciplinae sanctitate**, *their national integrity*; commercial and political uprightness. — **fidem socialem**, *plighted word*; *fides Saguntina* became almost proverbial; Sall. Hist. 2. 21 D. *Saguntini fide atque aerumnis incluti prae mortalibus*; Pliny, N. H. 3. 20, *Saguntina fide nobile*.

4. **Hannibal**: as champion of the Turdetani. — **pervastatis**: apparently an addition of Livy's authority (Coelius?), since wasting the country could hardly have been in the interest of the besiegers, but so Appian, Hisp. 10; cf. ch. 5. 4 and 16.

5. **angulus**: a three-cornered bastion. — **circa**: the use of the adverb, especially of *circa*, as an adjective or clause is a charac-

teristic of Livy; cf. ch. 8. 5; 11. 12; 36. 1; 46. 3, etc. — **per quas**, *under cover of which.* — **aries**: a single ram; in ch. 8. 2, collective.

6. **ut . . . ita**, *although . . . yet;* as in ch. 8. 1; 11. 5. — **locus procul**, *the ground at some distance from the wall.* — **ad effectum**: the attempt to bring up the ram, *admovere*, was hindered by the uneven ground and the circumstances mentioned in § 7, and the efforts of the enemy to repel the attack, (*submovere*). Livy makes very frequent use of verbals in *us.* — **succedebat**: impersonal as in 25. 37. 19, *si successisset coeptis.* An adverb, *parum*, *prospere*, or *satis* is usually added.

7. **ut . . . loco**, *as was natural; ut* often introduces a circumstance to be taken into account either as an explanation or a restriction, as in ch. 12. 4, *ut victore;* 34. 1; 22. 5. 1; 26. 5. 7, *ut in re trepida.* Cf. 34. 25. 5, *loca opportuna* (to the attacking party) *aut suspecta* (to the defenders) *praesidiis firmavit;* 32. 16. 15. — **ceterae**, *the rest of the wall*, one of Livy's condensed expressions. — **emunitus**, *raised high above:* a new compound. — **ubi**: conforms to *ibi.* — **timoris**, *the apprehension of danger;* so Tacitus often joins *periculum* (objective) and *metus* (subjective); cf. Hist. 4. 69. — **maiore**: instead of *maxima* for variety.

8. **missilibus**: as an adjective with *lapides*, *saxa*, cf. 1. 43. 7; 5. 47. 5, oftener with *telum*, but most often as substantive, as here and in 23. 37. 3; 26. 39. 12; see on *phalarica*, ch. 8. 10. — **munientibus**: those who were preparing the way for the *vineae* and *aries* toward the wall. The subject of *submovere* and *pati* is *Saguntini.* — **pro**: local, *along the front of.* — **micare**: with *tela* as subject, in imitation of Vergil, instead of *volare;* cf. 1. 13. 1; 26. 44. 7. More commonly used of swords, but here with reference to the iron points, and perhaps to *accensum;* ch. 8. 12.

9. **tumultuariis**: engagements hastily begun (*per occasionem*, ch. 8. 7) with no regular order of lines, and quickly given up; opposed to *iustus.* — **ferme**: always shows that the statement is not exact, and may be rendered, "on the whole," "in general," "about," etc.

10. **adversum femur**, *the front of his thigh;* the so-called Greek accusative not elsewhere used by Livy; cf. 24. 42. 2, *Cn. Scipionis femur tragula confixum erat;* Caes. B. G. 5. 35, *Balventio femur tra-*

gula traicitur. — **tragula**: a heavy javelin thrown by the aid of a leathern thong, used by the Spaniards and Gauls.

8. 1. **obsidio**, *blockade;* often in distinction from *oppugnatio*, *active siege*, here further explained by *ut . . . ita;* cf. 26. 4. 1, *Capua obsidebatur acrius quam oppugnabatur.* — **dum**: with the subjunctive implying purpose; A. & G. 328; G. 574; H. 519. 2. — **quies certaminum**: also with the abl. with *ab;* cf. ch. 11. 5; 1. 31. 5; 7. 22. 6; 26. 45. 5. — **apparatu**, *construction;* also used concretely of engines of war, as in ch. 49. 7; 26. 47. 5, *captus est apparatus ingens belli, catapultae, ballistae, scorpiones, arma, tela, signa militaria.* — **munitionum**: the fortifications of the besiegers, like *munientibus* in ch. 7. 8; those of the besieged are first mentioned in ch. 11. 5.

2. **bellum**, *struggle:* see on 22. 51. 1. — **pluribus partibus**: local abl., without a preposition, common in Livy, especially with *pars.* The unsuccessful assault upon the *angulus* was followed by a more general attack along the wall, in which all the reserve troops were brought up; hence *coortum*, *omnia*, *multifariam*, § 4, and, the plurals *muri* and *arietes*, § 5, instead of the singular as before. — **vix accipientibus**: on account of the uneven ground.

3. **centum quinquaginta milia**: shows how greatly Hannibal had increased the army in a short time. Hasdrubal had 60,000 foot, 8000 horse, and 200 elephants (Diod. 25. 17). Hannibal, after detaching the contingents for Spain and Africa of more than 30,000 men, led over the Ebro 102,000 men (ch. 23. 1); cf. Eutrop. 3. 7, *Saguntum adgressus est copiis congregatis centum quinquaginta milium*, probably after Fabius Pictor.

4. **coepti**: participle, elsewhere in Livy only in 24. 7. 10, *Puteolos per bellum coeptum frequentari emporium conmuniit.* — **oppidani . . . sufficiebant**: chiastic to *abundabat . . . Poenus.* The verb is not absolute, but modified by the gerundive expression.

5. **quassatae erant**: the plupf. marks the success of the continuous battering (*feriri*) before one part (*una.* sc. *pars*) was actually thrown down. — **deinceps**, *successive;* as an adj.; see on ch. 7. 5; cf. ch. 52. 5. — **quantum . . . erat**: in military phrase, "the curtain," the connecting wall between two bastions; cf. 32. 24. 3, *cum quantum inter duas turres muri erat prorutum cum ingenti fragore ac strepitu nudasset urbem.*

6. **ruina**: means either a wide breach, in which case *qua* is

local, *through which*, as in ch. 14. 2, or abstractly, *the crash*, like *casus*, as in 34. 29. 6, in which case *qua* means *in consequence of which;* cf. ch. 11. 5. — **velut si**: as in ch. 16. 2, but in ch. 5. 1 only *velut.* — **utrimque**: usually only the assailants press forward.

7. **quales**: refers to *pugnae* by synesis. — **alterius** = *huius aut illius*, *one or the other.* — **inter ruinas**: the besiegers pushed through the breach, while the Saguntines held the first line of houses.

8. **hinc . . . hinc**: ἔνθα, ἔνθα; first used in prose by Livy for *hinc, inde* or *hinc, illinc.*

9. **magis**: a necessary periphrasis since there is no adverb *conferte.* — **vano**, *without effect;* so close were the combatants; so 10. 29. 2, *vana incassum iactare tela;* 30. 18. 11, *nullo ferme frustra emisso pilo.*

10. **phalarica**: collective, a weapon used both in sieges and in the open field (cf. 34. 14. 11), like the smaller *malleoli*, fire darts, of the Romans; 42. 64. 3. — **cetera**: adverbial acc. (so in 1. 32. 2; 35. 6, *cetera egregium*), an imitation of Sallust, afterward avoided by Livy, as in 37. 7. 15, *virum ad cetera egregium.* In Curtius and others, *alioquin* and *ceteroqui* are used with an adjective. — **ad extremum**: elsewhere in Livy only temporal, as 22. 23. 5. — **sicut in pilo**: the similarity was limited to *quadratum.* The shaft was square where it joined the iron, elsewhere round.

11. **ferrum . . . pedes**: interlocked order, as in 26. 4. 4, *iacula quaternos longa pedes.* — **id**: not *ferrum*, but *the circumstance that, quod*, etc. — **ipso motu**: the motion through the air fanned the flame, and spread the fire from the tow to the whole shaft, so that the shield to which the javelin clung had to be thrown aside.

12. **arma omitti**: see on ch. 58. 3.

9. 1. **praeter spem**: cf. *desperatio*, ch. 8. 8. — **resisterent**: the view of the Saguntines indicating their growing confidence.

2. **in ruinas**: the battle thus far had been in the open space between the wall and the houses, corresponding to the Roman *pomoerium.* The Carthaginians were forced back among the ruins of the wall, there confused, *inpeditum*, and at last driven in utter rout, *fusum fugatumque.* — **fusum fugatumque**: a frequent alliteration, also with asyndeton, as in 23. 11. 10 (though Mg. adds *que*), less often with *ac*; cf. 22. 25. 9; 28. 4. 6.

3. **interim**: Livy skilfully breaks the narrative of the siege to introduce the account of the diplomatic negotiations at a point where the hopes of the reader are aroused for the success of the Saguntines; cf. ch. 12. 3. — **tot tam**: without a connective since *tot*, as an indefinite numeral, modifies the whole expression, *tam effrenatarum gentium*, which is analogous to *multae effrenatae gentes;* cf. ch. 28. 7, *pluribus validis retinaculis;* but also *tot tamque* when *tot* is an adj. like our "many and." — **effrenatarum**, *unbridled;* refers to the insubordination and lack of discipline resulting from a terrible war; in 3. 9. 4, joined with *solutus*, — **in . . . rerum**, *at such a crisis; rerum* may be omitted in translation (as in ch. 1. 5), yet it marks the contrast between action and words, the latter implied in *legationes audire;* cf. ch. 42. 1. — **operae**: sc. *pretium*, as 29. 17. 19. *It was not worth his while; he had no time.*

4. **quid**: Hannibal feared that, though the dominant popular party (ch. 2. 4; 11. 1) should carry the day, yet some concession might be secured by the opposition (*pars altera*) that would hinder the carrying out of his plans for a war against Rome. *Ne quid*, *not even a single point.*

10. 2. **causam**: the legal claim of the treaty of 241 B.C.; cf. ch. 2. 7. — **non**: yet Hanno had a small following; see on *prope*, ch. 11. 1; cf. 3. 72. 1, *non silentio modo, sed cum adsensu etiam audiri.*

3. **testes**: to be joined with *foederum;* cf. 44. 15. 5. — **monuisse praedixisse**, *had warned, had bidden betimes;* so 2. 10. 4, *monere, praedicere ut pontem interrumpant.* Asyndeton between words of similar meaning is uncommon (usually *et* or *ac*), except in speeches, where the earnestness of the speaker justifies it, and in certain religious and political formulas, as ch. 17. 4; 63. 9; 22. 10. 2. — **progeniem**: i.e. Hannibal; the word is used both in prose and in poetry of individuals, as ch. 53. 5; 3. 54. 12, *Sicinium, progeniem eius.* — **mitterent**: follows the view that Hannibal was sent to Spain only to take command of the army (ch. 4. 1); Sil. Ital. 2. 286, removes the contradiction, *ne castris innutriretur . . . monui.* — **conquiescere**, *keep quiet;* **quietura**, *be left in quiet;* cf. the negative use of *quiete*, 22. 18. 9.

4. **cupidine regni**: see on ch. 3. 5. The charge of aspiring to be king, *regnum adpetere*, was the most fatal that could be brought

against a Roman citizen, and many patriots suffered death under this charge falsely made. The accusation by Hanno is the reflection of Roman ideas. The figure begun in *flagrantem* and carried through the sentence is a favorite one in Latin, (cf. ch. 3. 6,) and the change from indirect to direct speech, often introduced by *inquit*, is frequent in Livy; cf. ch. 53. 5. The direct speech introduces the arguments against the war: (*a*) the endurance of the Romans (§§ 6, 7 to *saeviant*); (*b*) the weakness of the Carthaginians (§§ 7, 8 to *volunt*); (*c*) controlling and avenging fate (§§ 8, 9 to *dedit*). Recalling then the fear of disaster, Hanno wishes to take every measure to placate the Romans (§§ 11–13). — **ex bellis bella serendo**, *arousing war after war;* so in 2. 18. 11; 31. 6. 4.

5. **foedere**: the agreement of Hasdrubal supplementary to the treaty of 241; see on ch. 2. 7. — **rupta**: the speaker forgets the help given to the Mamertines by the Romans and the taking of Messana as *casus belli*. — **ulti**: sc. *Romani*.

6. **fortunam**: each people had its guardian deity or genius; that of Rome was worshipped as *Dea Roma*, the *fortuna populi Romani;* cf. 2. 40. 13, *fortuna populi Romani duos exercitus confecit;* 38. 46. 4, *magna fortuna populi Romani est magnum et terribile nomen;* see on 22. 29. 1. — **sociis**: the Latin never, like the English, permits one noun to be governed by two monosyllabic prepositions, but always repeats the noun even though the case is the same with each preposition. — **bonus**: ironical, hence prepositive; yet the *ius gentium* justified Hannibal in referring the embassadors to his government. — **tamen**: emphasizes the forbearance of the Romans. — **pulsi**: the climax of *non admissi, arcentur*. — **res . . . repetunt**, *demand restitution.*

7. **coeperint**: as perfect of *incipio*. — **Aegates insulas**: off these islands the Carthaginians suffered, in 241, the disastrous naval defeat that ended the war. Eryx, where Hamilcar had been unsuccessfully besieged for three years, was then surrendered; see ch. 41. 6. — **quae**, *and in general what;* summarizes with asyndeton.

8. **puer**: contemptuous exaggeration; cf. ch. 2. 3; correctly, *iuvenis*, §§ 4 and 11. — **Italia**: Hanno implies that the Carthaginians were forbidden by treaty to sail to Tarentum, but Polybius, 3. 26, shows that this was incorrect by quoting the treaties. Iapygia, the district about Tarentum, was not then included under the name

Italia, which was applied to Brutii and Lucania. — **ut isti volunt**, *as these very opponents will have it;* i.e. *assert*. The contemptuous sense of *iste* arose from the habitual employment of it in addressing opponents in debate.

9. **di homines**: instead of the customary *di hominesque;* for the thought, cf. § 5 and ch. 40. 11. — **Id, de quo**, *as to the subject of dispute;* may be taken absolutely like *id quod*. — **unde** = *a quo populo;* not *ubi*, because the Romans said *ab aliquo stare;* cf. ch. 5. 9; 24. 45. 3, *qui aliunde stet semper, aliunde sentiat*, so constantly *hinc*. — **ei . . . dedit**: anacoluthon instead of an expected predicate like *diiudicavit, cum . . . daret*.

10. **ariete**: collective.

11. **levem**: of the same Hanno, it is said in 23. 13. 6, *simultas cum familia Barcina leviorem auctorem faciebat*. His personal position assured him a hearing (§ 2), but exercised no influence on the decision. — **in eo**, *in his case;* note the four different meanings of *eo* in §§ 7, 11, 12. — **paternas inimicitias**, *my hatred of his father;* see ch. 3. 3. — **iam haberemus**: cf. ch. 2. 2. — **furiam facemque**: see on ch. 4. 2 and cf. ch. 40. 9; 22. 39. 14.

12. **dedendum**: the infinitives depend on a verb like *puto* to be supplied from *detestor*, perhaps purposely omitted on account of the excitement of the speaker. — **ablegandum**: in a military sense, "to despatch" (cf. *legatus*), "to remove to," without the idea of disgrace or penalty; so in 22. 25. 5; 23. 31. 7; 24. 26. 9; 25. 41. 3, *praefectum ab obtrectatoribus ablegatum*, but cf. 27. 9. 3, *in exsilium verius quam in militiam ablegari*. — **ad nos . . . accidere**: i.e. *ad aures nostras;* cf. 8. 24. 11, *quod ubi ad aures accidit regis;* so *fama*, *vox*, *clamor*, *sonus accidit;* cf. ch. 61. 1.

13. **ego**: the thought of the dominant party leads the speaker to emphasize himself as spokesman of the minority, as in ch. 3. 6. — **Hannibalem**: repeated for clearness that *ipsum* may not be referred to *exercitum*. — **res reddendas**: corresponds to *res repetere*, § 6. — **decerno**: variation on *censeo*; cf. ch. 6. 6.

11. 1. **omnium**: strengthens *nemini;* oftener with *unus* and *primus*. — **nemini . . . fuit**: a rhetorical turn to avoid presenting the Carthaginian side, which is briefly done in ch. 18. 4. That Livy was disposed to present in the briefest terms what would be disagreeable to his readers, and to enlarge upon whatever was

favorable to Roman national pride, is shown further by the one-sided report of a debate in the Carthaginian senate in 23. 12 f. Other writers speak of a reply. — **adeo**: see on ch. 7. 3. — **prope**: among the leaders of the peace party was also Hasdrubal Haedus; cf. 30. 42. 12. — **Flaccum Valerium**: the gentile name follows the family name, sometimes in Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust, oftener in Tacitus, mainly to distinguish members of the same family, or when the *praenomen* is lacking; cf, 22. 40. 6; 45. 8; the usual order occurs in ch. 6. 8.

2. **si**: instead of *quod*, implying the hope that the Romans will not prefer. — **vetustissimae**: the answer is a piece of casuistry, for since 241 an alliance (*societas*) between Rome and Carthage was impossible, and the question was merely one of treaty stipulations. For the date of the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, see Momms. Hist., Vol. I., Appendix II.

3. **ferunt**: see on ch. 7. 1. — **habebat**: a near approach to the English auxiliary "had"; see on ch. 13. 6. — **operibus**: the operations of siege. — **ira**: corresponding to *spe;* cf. 10. 31. 6, *hinc ira stimulante, illinc spe;* 10. 41. 1, *Romanos ira, spes, ardor in proelium rapit.* — **ira in hostes**: parallel with *praemiorum spe. Ira* cannot take an objective genitive as can *odium*, which is derived from a transitive verb; cf. ch. 25. 2. The harshness of the construction is due to the desire for balanced form.

4. **ut vero**, *but when;* as the stronger motive; ch. 7. 10. — **contione**: the regular word for a gathering in camp, even of other than Roman troops; cf. ch. 30. 1; for *concilium*, see on ch. 14. 1. *Contio* also means a speech (2. 38. 2, *in contionis modum*) and the platform from which the speech is made (2. 7. 7, *in contionem escendit*). — **videretur posse**: the order is intentional. Cicero's frequent use of *esse videatur* to close a sentence was blamed; see Tacitus Dial. 23.

5. **ut . . . ita**: see on ch. 7. 6; 8. 1. — **nec lacessentes nec lacessiti**, *without attacking or being attacked.* — **aliquot**: implying that the Saguntines had time to complete the inner wall; in § 3, *paucorum* (*only a few*) was used of the same thing to mark the energy of Hannibal. The acc. with *per* denotes continuous duration. — **reficerent**: on the old foundation.

6. **oppugnatio . . . adorta**: personification. — **primum aut**

potissimum: see on ch. 4. 2. — **satis**: in negative sentences, "fully," "with certainty"; cf. ch. 26. 4; 47. 3; less often in affirmative clauses, as 22. 15. 3, *cum satis sciret.*

7. **turris mobilis**: a wooden structure mounted on rollers and pushed against the walls by help of cattle and men. Its several stories (Hirtius Bell. Alex. 2 mentions one of ten) were supplied with *tormenta*, artillery, of which the two chief kinds were catapults for shooting arrows point blank, and ballistae for throwing stones at an elevation. These machines were not intended to injure the wall, but to strip it of its defenders.

8. **tum**: in a conclusion after a preceding *cum* to emphasize the time of the chief event and its accompanying circumstances; cf. ch. 13. 3; 22. 6. 9; after *ubi*, ch. 25. 12; after *postquam*, 26. 5. 17. — **occasionem**: always implies a favorable opportunity, as ch. 8. 7. — **caementa**: shortened from *caedimenta*, rough stone, distinguished from *lapides quadrati*, dressed stone. The wall having been laid in clay (*luto*) had not hardened (*durata*) into a solid mass.

9. **caederetur**: not *ferire*, *quatere*, *quassare*, which are used of *aries;* cf. ch. 8. 5; 10. 10; 14. 2. The subjunctive is generally regarded as the iterative, like *agendum esset* in ch. 4. 4, but it is rather the subjunctive expressing a conception not realized as fact. The wall fell beyond the place where it was undermined, where the pick had not struck; see on ch. 31. 2. — **ruebat**: sc. *murus.* Livy often omits the subject of a main clause even when it changes; cf. 22. 61. 3. — **patentia ruinis**, *the breaches;* the participle as a noun, often in Livy; cf. *ridentis*, ch. 2. 6, and see on ch. 45. 9. The modifiers are adverbial; *ruinis* is abl. means. — **vadebant**: expresses the danger and difficulty of the advance.

10. **velut**: because the real arx was still held by the Saguntines. — **inminentem**: from which they could see better to direct operations, and the artillery was more effective; the verb is absolute, as in ch. 7. 7; with the dative, ch. 46. 2; 27. 41. 4.

11. **sed . . . faciunt**: rather an advantage; cf. ch. 8. 4, *ad omnia tuenda multifariam distineri coepti.* — **in dies**: merely rhetorical. In §§ 5, 10, the reconstruction of the wall is mentioned, and it is hardly possible that this should have been done several times.

12. **inopia omnium**: oftener with an added *rerum*, as 25. 26. 2; 28. 35. 2, *penuria omnium rerum.* Scarcity both of munitions of war

and of provisions, though Livy does not urge this. Cf. Florus, 2. 6. 19, *Saguntini fessi fame;* Eutropius, 3. 3, *fame victi sunt*, and the proverbial *Saguntina fames* in Ausonius Epist. 22. 42. — **Romani**: at that time (219) engaged in the second Illyrian war. — **unica**, *only;* more often with the meaning "only of its kind," "excellent" (cf. 22. 14. 9; 27. 3, where it is ironical).

13. **Oretanos**: south of the Carpetani around the sources of the Baetis (Guadalquivir). — **Carpetanos**: annexed with *que* to avoid the jingle of the trisyllabic rhyme. — **consternati**: here and in ch. 24. 2, of men; of the fright of horses, ch. 33. 4; of elephants, ch. 56. 1. — **omiserunt**, *abandoned;* different from *arma omitti* in ch. 8. 12.

12. 1. **nec** = *neque tamen.* — **Maharbale**: afterward Hannibal's famous cavalry leader in Italy, commanding the right wing at Cannae; see 22. 51. 2. — **cives**: the Carthaginian army; not *sui*, because Maharbal is not the subject; cf. ch. 5. 5.

2. **tribus**: proof of Maharbal's activity in preparing for the final storm, and showing that *aries*, in ch. 8. 2, is not collective.

3. **ipsam**, *the real;* cf. *velut*, ch. 11. 10. Livy again breaks the narrative at a critical point to arouse the reader's interest by a renewed hope of peace; see ch. 9. 3.

4. **Saguntinum**: forms a contrast to *Hispanum*, as the Saguntines were Greek immigrants (ch. 7. 2), and implies that Alco knew better than the Spaniard the real nature of the Saguntines. — **movebant**: absolute; see on ch. 28. 4. — **ut**, *as might be expected;* see on ch. 7. 7; especially common before prepositions beginning with a vowel; cf. ch. 34. 1. — **ferebantur**: equivalent not to *referebantur*, as in ch. 13. 1, but to *offerebantur*, as in ch. 13. 5. — **oratore**: commonly a negotiator; here a self-appointed mediator, not a duly commissioned messenger (*legatus*). — **moriturum**: sc. *eum esse*, often omitted by Livy; cf. *moturum* above. — **sub**: rarely found in the sense of *under condition of* till after the time of Livy.

5. **postulabatur**: the proposed terms (somewhat reduced in ch. 13. 6 and 7) were not harsh for the times. Rome imposed similar terms upon Carthage at the close of the third Punic war, and severer ones upon Capua after its recapture from Hannibal; see 26. 16. In this case Hannibal needed the money (*omni auro . . .*,

tradito) for his intended campaign against Rome, and it was necessary that there should be no large hostile city behind him, nor one that would serve as a basis for Roman influence in Spain. — **redderent**: so the Romans demanded for the Saguntines in ch. 10. 13. — **singulis**: one besides that worn; cf. ch. 13. 7; a common condition; cf. 22. 6. 11; 52. 3; 23. 15. 3, etc. — **ibi**: probably at a distance from the sea to destroy their commerce, or in different places to break up the community.

6. **has pacis leges**, *such terms of surrender.* — **alia**, *everything else*; weapons, walls, etc. — **interpretem**: not merely did he give the terms in Greek, but he recommended them (ch. 13. 9; cf. 2. 33. 11, *huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae*). — **publice**: because *hospitium* existed between the Spanish *civitas* to which he belonged and Saguntum; cf. ch. 13. 2.

7. **munimenta**: see on ch. 8. 1. — **praetorem**: στρατηγός, who received him as president of the Senate. Livy commonly uses this word of the chief magistrate or general of foreign states. *Consul* was restricted to Roman officers. The Saguntine magistrate had no colleague, and in speaking of the two co-ordinate Carthaginian magistrates, Livy calls them *suffetes*; cf. 28. 37. 2; Nepos, Hann. 7. 4, calls them *reges.* — **et ipse** = καὶ αὐτός; it was his wish *also*, as well as the impulse of others. *Et ipse*, not used by Caesar and Sallust, and rare in Cicero, is common in Livy; cf. ch. 17. 7; 23. 6; 26. 7 and 9.

8. **omnis generis**: descriptive of *hominum*, therefore placed before it; cf. 22. 9. 3; 23. 30. 3.

13. 1. **sicut . . . ita**: conditions corresponding to his hopes. — **venit**, *went*; cf. ch. 19. 7.

2. **nunc**: according to Livy's constant usage, who never places *sed* after conditions contrary to fact, *nunc*, and not *sed*, is inserted as the necessary adversative particle: cf. 22. 39. 3; 2. 28, 3, *si essent magistratus . . . nunc*; 34. 15. 1, *si privati processissent, ego quoque tacitus expectassem; nunc*; cf. ch. 40. 3; 22. 60. 7; 23. 12. 9; Gk. εἰ . . . νῦν δέ.

3. **alterius**: the usual substitute for the genitive of *alius*, meaning Hannibal. — **vestra . . . quod**, *that I speak in your interest and not another's* (*Hannibal's*) *you may believe from the fact that;* cf. 22. 61 10. The inf. with *fides* is rare and not found before Livy. — T.

4. **postquam . . . est**: the arrangement is chiastic to the preceding sentence. *Est = relicta est.*

5. **cuius . . . audietis**, *but of this there is no hope unless, as conquered men, you listen to the terms which Hannibal as victor offers you.* With *ita . . . si*, cf. ch. 19. 3. — **quemadmodum**: as often, to avoid a double *ut;* so 22. 1. 16; 24. 8. 6; 27. 45. 9. — **ut victor**: since he now regarded himself as actually victorious, thus different from ch. 12. 4, *ut ab irato victore.* — **fert**: see on ch. 12, 4. — **vos**: added for antithesis to *Hannibal.*

6. **ex magna parte**: so. ch. 56. 8; Curtius, 7, 3, 7; much more commonly *magna ex parte;* cf. ch. 46. 6; 62. 11; rarely *magna parte*, 24. 34. 14. — **captam . . . habet**: almost a strong perfect of *capere*, "has taken possession"; A. & G. 292, c; G. 230; H. 388, 1. n; see on ch. 11. 3. — **adsignaturus**: the standing expression for the assignment of lands; cf. ch. 25. 3. — **oppidum**: merely a variation on *urbem* (cf. ch. 11. 5), and not to make a depreciating contrast.

7. **corpora . . . liberorum**, *yourselves, your families. Coniugum ac liberorum* form one member of the pair; hence the asyndeton. — **servat**, *guarantees.* — **binis**: with the same meaning as *singulis* in ch. 12. 5, but the speaker to make the conditions seem more lenient reckons the garments worn. The preposition *cum* is used both of that which one has with him (*cum telo esse*) and of what he wears, as 35. 34. 7, *cum sordida veste.* — **ab Sagunto**: see on ch. 15. 3.

8. **haud**: as commonly before compounds with *in* negative; so also before *dissimilis*, 28. 5. 11; *difficulter*, 25. 36. 3; *dispar*, 30. 28. 10; *dissimulare*, 3. 36. 2; *despero*, 2. 46. 1; *segniter*, 25. 35. 1; *neglegenter*, 41. 18. 12; *abnuo*, 1. 56. 8; *sine*, 6. 38. 11.

9. **corpora**: of man on his exclusively physical side, often joined with *libera* or *captiva;* contemptuously in 22. 22. 7; in a favorable sense, "person," 24. 22. 15; see on ch. 41. 16. — **sinatis**: note the change of mood. In a comparison of clauses with *potius quam* the second member regularly takes the subjunctive, as it expresses a conception, not a fact (see on ch. 11. 9); A. & G. 332. b; G. 647. 4 (where the principle is incorrectly applied to this case); H. 502. 2. In this sentence, however, *sinatis* may be taken directly with *censeo*, which as a verb of advising requires the subjunctive with or without *ut* instead of an active infinitive; A. & G. 331, d; G. 546; H 498, 1. n.

14. 1. **circumfusa**: because the Saguntines apparently thought there was a truce during the negotiations of Alorcus; hence § 2, *nudatam custodiis urbem.* — **concilium**: applied by Livy especially to the political assemblies of foreign states and civic communities; cf. ch. 19. 8; 20. 1 and 7, while *contio* is mainly reserved for Roman relations; as Caesar uses *res publica* only of the Roman state, and applies *civitates* to the Gallic states; cf. *praetor*, ch. 12. 7. — **argentum aurumque**: an unusual order.

2. **quassata**: Livy does not think of any interruption of the siege. Other writers mention a desperate sortie of the Saguntines at night, preceding the final assault of the Carthaginians. — **cohors**: see on ch. 3. 1; cf. *cohors Hispanorum*, 22. 18. 2. — **signum**, *announcement;* usually "command," as § 3, followed by *ut* or *ne* with subjunctive.

3. **momento**: ch. 33. 10, again in 28. 6. 4; *momento horae*, 25. 24. 14; *puncto temporis*, 3. 27. 7, and often in Cicero. — **crudele**: sc. *fuit.*

4. **concremaverunt**: that the city was not entirely destroyed, or the inhabitants all massacred, is shown by the fact that afterward the city was used as the residence of the Spanish hostages (22. 22. 4), and that after it was taken from the Carthaginians by the Romans, in 213 B.C., it was restored to the survivors of its original inhabitants; cf. 24. 42. 10; Sall. Hist. 2. 21. D., in the account of the war with Sertorius, *moenia etiamtum semiruta domus intectae parietesque templorum ambusti manus Punicas ostentabant.* — **morientes** = *mortui sunt;* cf. 3. 51. 13, *ante quam . . . perlatis legibus.*

15. 1. The whole account of the siege is like a drama in three acts (the first, to ch. 9. 2; the second, ch. 11. 3 to ch. 12. 3; the third, ch. 14. 1 to ch. 15. 2), with two interludes, the Roman embassy and the attempts at peace by Alco and Alorcus. — **ingenti praeda**: in accord with Pol. 3. 17. 10. — **quamquam**: this sentence is an attempt to harmonize the account of Polybius with the statement of the Roman historians, that the rich destroyed their most valuable possessions. The heroism of the Saguntines was used by Roman writers as a favorite topic for declamation, but Livy avoids the statements (see Cic. paradox, 24; Diod. 25. 20) that sons killed their fathers and mothers their children, and then hung themselves, as inconsistent with the assertion that an army of 150,000 men was enriched by a sale of the prisoners. He is also

shy of giving many examples of *Saguntina rabies;* see 31. 17. 5. — **corrupta**: as Diodorus and Appian report by melting the gold and silver with lead and copper. — **militum praeda**: at Rome such gains went to the public treasury.

2. **constat**: from Polybius. — **vestem**: clothing, curtains, tapestry in general; see on ch. 4. 8; *pretiosam* is joined with it in 26. 21. 8; 31. 17. 6. The plunder accomplished the double purpose of gaining support at Carthage (hence *missam Carthaginem*), and of contenting the army.

3 ff. A critical excursus on chronology. — **quam** = *post quam;* cf. 3. 8. 2, *tertio die quam interregnum inierat.* A. & G. 262, n. 2; G. 566; H. 430, n. 1, 3. On the fact, see ch. 30. 9. — **quidam**: by this word, as in ch. 38. 1; 22. 36. 4, Livy avoids the name of Polybius, his constant authority, whom as a Greek he does not wish to mention too often. — **in hiberna concessisse**: Livy's own statement in ch. 21. 1. — **ab Carthagine profectus**: *i.e.*, from New Carthage. Cicero generally omits the preposition except in referring to the surroundings of a city, but Livy, after Greek usage, preferably has *a* or *ab*; cf. ch. 13. 7; 23. 17. 9; 18. 14; 25. 22. 11.

4. **legati**: those mentioned in ch. 6. 1. — **ambo . . . ad Trebiam**: according to both Livy and Polybius, Scipio had no part in the battle, being forced to remain in camp by his wound, but his troops were engaged, and after the battle he conducted the retreat; see ch. 56. 9.

5. **breviora**: *i.e.*, less than thirteen months. Livy here corrects the chronological error of ch. 6. 3 by adopting the chronology of Polybius who put the siege of Saguntum in 219 (instead of 218), Hannibal's winter at New Carthage in 219–218, and his march to Italy and the battles of the Ticinus and Trebia in 218. At that time the consuls entered on their office in March, so that Scipio and Sempronius were consuls from March, 218, to March, 217. It will be seen that the Romans had abundance of time in which to aid Saguntum, had they wished to do so, but they did not suspect Hannibal's designs upon Italy.

6. **excessisse**: "fallen out in the course of events," hence *in annum*, not the abl.: cf. 30. 26. 1. — **ad Trebiam**: without *facta* or *commissa* (ch. 58. 11), as frequently Livy joins a prepositional phrase of nearer definition directly with a noun; cf. ch. 5. 17; 11. 3; 21.

8 and 10; 43. 13; 50. 8; 53. 4 and 8; 61. 1; 22. 37. 1; 50. 3; 53. 4; 58. 1. — **annum**: 217 B.C. — **quia . . . rediit**: see ch. 63. 2; 57. 4. — **creatus**: *i.e.*, Sempronius presided at the election, and *declared* Flaminius elected.

16–19. 6. Military preparations of the Romans and declaration of war.

16. 1. **idem**: it is not possible that the envoys should have taken eight months for the journey to Saguntum, Carthage, and back, and Livy implies, partly by *fere* and partly by the position of the clause, that their report came first; but by joining it with the announcement of the fall of Saguntum he gives a better motive for the intense excitement at Rome. The statement falls in with the wrong chronology of the writers who assigned only two months to the siege of Saguntum. — **omnia hostilia**: in Carthage and in the army before Saguntum; ch. 9. 3. — **excidium**: from *excindere* with short stem vowel.

2. **tantusque**: this chapter and this sentence in particular are excellent examples of Livy's mastery of style. He is at his best in describing exciting events and disturbed feelings (cf. 22. 7 and 8), and the student may note here, as matters of style, the order of the words, e.g., *indigne* after *peremptorum*, *non lati* before *auxilii*, *uno tempore* between *tot . . . motibus* like an adjective, corresponding to *simul* before the polysyndeton *que . . . et . . . et . . . que*, by which each feeling is added with cumulative force to the one before, and the use of *nam* with the infinitive (see on ch. 1. 5). The whole chapter is a climax culminating in the idea of a struggle for universal dominion carried on upon the soil of Italy. The feelings ascribed to the Romans are a rhetorical exaggeration, for the fact that they only slightly increased the usual levy of troops (ch. 17), although Rome had at her disposal a nominal force, including allies, of 770,000 men (Pol. 2. 24), and that they sent the consuls of 218, one to Spain and one to Sicily, shows that they did not expect Hannibal in Italy. — **summa rerum**, *the existence of the state*; cf. ch. 29. 4; 22. 53. 4. — **ad portas**: premature allusion to the later proverbial *Hannibal ad portas*; see 23. 16. 1; Cic. de Fin. 4. 9. 22; otherwise *ante portas*, as 35. 46. 8. — **uno tempore**: as adj., *simultaneous* (see above).

3. **desidem . . . inbellem**: in reference to Saguntum, antithetic to *acriorem bellicosioremque*. The praise of ch. 1. 2 is for the war as a whole.

4. **Sardos**: the wars with the Sardinians and Corsicans occurred in 238–234; with the Illyrian pirates in 229–219; with the Istrians in 219, and with the Gauls in 225–222, all in the interval between the first and the second Punic wars, and all with enemies outside of Italy, foreigners like the Carthaginians. — **Gallis**: the Ligurians might also have been mentioned. — **tumultuatum**: wars with the Gauls were as a rule called *tumultus*, "disorderly raids," since they were usually begun on the side of the Gauls with noisy demonstrations, carried on without deliberation, and therefore quickly ended; cf. ch. 25. 3, *armis repenter arreptis;* ch. 26. 1; 28. 4; 5. 37. 8, *nata in vanos tumultus gens Gallorum.* The passive use of *tumultuari* occurs in Caesar B. G. 7. 61, *nuntiatur in castris tumultuari.* — **belligeratum**: here only in Livy, archaic, used to correspond with *tumultuatum;* Ennius in Cic. de Off. 1. 22. 28, *belligerantes.*

5. **trium et viginti**: as if the Carthaginians had been fighting in Spain during all the time since the close of the first Punic war. — **recentem ab**, *fresh from;* flushed with victory. — **excidio**: hyperbolic; see on ch. 14. 4.

6. **conciturum**: carries on the idea of *concivisse* implied in the preceding *excitos.* — **Gallicas**: those in Gallia Cisalpina rather than in Gallia proper.

17. 1. **nominatae**: before the consuls entered on their office; at that time an uncommon occurrence; see 26. 28. 3. The *lex Sempronia de provinciis consularibus*, 123 B.C., first provided that the Senate should determine the provinces before the consular elections, and that after the elections the consuls should divide them by agreement or by lot (*inter se conponere, conparare*).

2. **sex**: the usual number was four. In 211 Rome raised twenty-three; see 26. 1. 13. — **socium**: this form of the genitive is common with *praefectus* and *Latini nominis;* cf. ch. 55. 4; 22. 27. 11. — **ipsis**: the consuls. The contingent of allies was usually determined by the Senate, but sometimes left to the consuls, as in 23. 24. 8. The Roman legion regularly consisted at that time of 4000 Roman infantry and 300 cavalry. The allied contingent of infantry was usually the same; of cavalry larger; see 22. 36. 3. — **parari**, *equipped:* the vessels which had been used the year before in the Illyrian war. This verb also means "to build," as 37. 50. 5, *naves quoque idem consul quae priore anno paratae erant, ornare iussus ac ducere secum.*

3. **quinqueremes**: the customary war-ship, *navis longa*, from the time of Alexander the Great; first built by the Romans in the first Punic war after the model of a stranded Carthaginian vessel. — **celoces**: a swift spy boat, a sort of cruiser.

4. **vellent**: the usual asyndeton in putting a question to the people: for the direct form, see 22. 10. 2, and for the *supplicatio*, 22. 10. 8 and 9. — **eiusque belli causa**: part of the formula as in 22. 9. 9; different from ch. 6. 1. — **bellum**: for the attraction, see on 22. 10. 2, and cf. ch. 5. 1; 1. 32. 13; 31. 8. 2; 36. 2. 2; 42. 28. 7.

5. **ea**: for *eae*, attracted by *milia*, oftener with the relative, as 33. 1. 1, *Thebis quod caput est Boeotiae.*

6. **transmissurus**: in accordance with the view of the war held at Rome Sempronius' purpose was clearly to cross into Africa, the *ita . . . si* (ch. 19. 3) being an addition of Livy's. That Cornelius received the smaller army shows that the Senate neither feared Hannibal nor intended to make conquests in Spain.

7. **quia**, etc.: also an addition of Livy's. Hannibal was not expected in Italy. — **et ipse**: see on ch. 12. 7. — **praesidio**: the two legions of § 9, but weaker in allies than those of the consular army; for the litotes with *haud*, cf. ch. 1. 2; 22. 1; 29. 4; 49. 11, and see on ch. 13. 8.

8. **ea parte**: *i.e.*, the sea; cf. 25. 32. 10; more commonly *pars copiarum*, *armorum*, *virium* refers to a definite arm of the service, usually the cavalry; see ch. 41. 4; 53. 1; 54. 6; 22. 44. 4. — **suo iusto**: also *suo* or *iusto* alone.

9. **duas**: quartered partly at Mutina (ch. 25. 8), partly at Clastidium (ch. 48. 9) and Victumulae (ch. 57. 9), but principally at Cremona and Placentia, so that at a later time, according to Pol. 3. 40, only the fourth legion was available for suppressing the insurrection.

9. **versa**: agrees with *provincia*. *Eodem versa* means lying in the same direction, *i.e.*, toward the north; cf. 38. 51. 3. Two armies operated in the north, while Sempronius alone was in the south. Some (Wfl. Weis.) regard *versa* as neuter plural, agreeing with the several objects, in which case *eodem* means "to the same end," *i.e.*, the war, and *in Punicum bellum* is epexegetic to it (cf. 23. 34. 2, *eodem ad Iunonis*). — **habuit**, *received*; the troops were not there before, or *habebat* would have been used; cf. 26. 1. 12.

18. 1. **conparatis**: so that the Carthaginians would have to pay, as in the case of Sardinia (see on ch. 1. 3), the cost of the preparations for war made by the Romans. — **iusta**: the Romans were very punctilious in declaring war by fetial priests and specially appointed messengers: see I. 32. 5–10. — **legatos**: the number increased from two, ch. 6. 8, to five. The *princeps legationis*, Q. Fabius (according to others M. Fabius Buteo consul, 245 B.C.) was afterward known as "Cunctator." Q. Baebius belonged to the first embassy. — **maiores natu**: as in the case of Jugurthan war first *adulescentes*, then, to give more weight, *maiores natu* were sent; Sall. Jug. 21. 4; 25. 4. — **ad . . . ut**: two final expressions, *for inquiring . . . to declare;* cf. 33. 16. 4, *non ad tollendum modo decretum . . . sed ut.*

2. **id . . . videbantur**, *as seemed probable;* from the controlling influence of the Barcine party; see ch. 2. 4. In expectation of such a reply the military preparations had preceded the diplomatic move. — **defenderent**, *justify;* like a *verbum dicendi* followed by an inf.

3. **datus**: the usual dative, *iis*, is here unnecessary as in 22. 19. 4. — **unum**: Roman statesmen understood the *imperatoria brevitas* (Tac. Hist. I. 18) better than the art of discussion. — **tum**: following *cum* for clearness shows that the clause is not the conclusion of *postquam;* see on ch. 11. 8. — **unus**: Polybius says the ablest orator of the Barcine party.

4. **praeceps . . . fuit**, *your former embassy was also hasty;* the haste of the Romans was in first demanding the surrender of Hannibal, and then in peremptorily demanding whether the attack upon Saguntum was sanctioned by the state, before it was settled whether the attack was in violation of any treaty stipulation, and in both cases in declaring the penalty before the decision was known. — **et prior**: as 34. 44. 4, *quem et priores censores legerant;* more commonly *et ante*, as 26. 40. 9, *quod et ante acciderat*, analogous to καὶ πρίν, καὶ πάλαι, καὶ πρότερον instead of ἤδη πρίν, etc. Before such expressions, especially before *ante*, *antea*, and *pridem*, *iam* is commonly placed, but often supplied from the context, as 22. 1. 1. — **tamquam**: the assumption of the Romans, but as the speaker blames the Romans for their haste, there is an implied admission that Saguntum was besieged with the consent of the Carthaginian government. — **adhuc**: as far as Fabius has spoken, but the declaration of war is foreseen. — **asperior**: inasmuch as a confession of

wrong forced by a series of crafty questions is more harmful than a simple accusation, and as the claim for restitution would lay upon Carthage a heavier burden than the surrender of a single person; ch. 6. 8.

5. **repetuntur**: the present of vivid realization, as the demand had been already made; cf. ch. 10. 6.

6. **ego . . . non . . . censeam**: with ironical tone, *I should hardly think;* cf. 22. 59. 13.

7. **quid . . . fecerit**: join with *quaestio.* — **arbitrio**: appropriate with *suo*, but implies *consilio* with *nostro.* — **per foedus**: general, referring to different treaties.

8. **utrorumque sociis**: the customary form of such treaties included the allies of both parties. — **necdum** (= *etenim nondum*), includes the idea of *nondum*, and serves as a conjunction.

9. **at enim**: introduces the reason of an implied objection, "but you will say that makes no difference for." Then follows the reply. — **excipiuntur**: by a special exception, though they lived south of the Ebro; see ch. 2. 7.

10. **foedus icit**: Livy probably took the form *icit* from his authority, Coelius (frag. 6 P. *qui cum is ita foedus icistis*), as besides this he uses only the partic. *ictus*, and for other forms of *icere* he employs (*foedus*) *facere*, *ferire*, *sancire*, *iungere*, *inire;* cf. 2. 33. 4, *foedus ictum, ad id feriendum;* 42. 25. 10 f, *foedus ictum, facere, fieret, faciendum.*

11. **ex auctoritate**: sc. *senatus*, and so *iusso vestro* = *iussu populi.* — **insciis**: since the Barcidae in Spain were in general independent of the Carthaginian government, and Hasdrubal in particular is described as uncontrolled; see ch. 12. 4.

12. **parturit . . . pariat**: Cic. Phil. 2. 46. 118, *ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat quod iam diu parturit.* The speech is the Carthaginian answer to the Roman view in ch. 10. Polybius, 3. 30, after quoting the treaties, says that the attack on Saguntum was unjustifiable, but that there were other grounds for the war "by which the conduct of the Carthaginians may be fully justified."

13. **Romanus**: Fabius. — **sinu**: not the well-known fold of the toga, for that was wanting among the early Romans (Quint. 11. 3. 137, *veteribus nulli sinus*), but Fabius made a fold by lifting the

lower edge of the part of the toga that fell in front (*sinu facto*), and then again dropped it (*effuso*).

14. **sub**: see on ch. 2. 1. — **ferociter . . . subclamatum**, *the fierce murmur ran around.* According to Pol. 3. 33, the Carthaginian magistrate (βασιλεύς) gave the reply, and this was greeted with loud assent by the majority (πλείους, not *all*) of the Senate.

19. 1–5. In substantial accord with Polybius.

1. **percunctatio**: like the deponent in ch. 18. 1 and 3, a demand for explanation. — **quam . . . disceptare**, *than a wordy controversy over the validity of treaties;* the plural *foederum* refers to the original draft and the subsequent modifications. — **Verbis**: stands in opposition to *derecta*, and the idea of "wordy strife" lies also in *disceptare.* — **excisa**: fem. by synesis, *urbe* to be supplied; see on ch. 7. 1.

2. **quid**, *in what particular?* — **priore foedere**: defined by the relative clause; the first draft made by Lutatius subject to ratification at Rome. In § 4 the same words refer to the accepted treaty of Lutatius in comparison with that of Hasdrubal. — **conparandum erat**, *would be compared;* in statements or questions containing a direct or implied negative, and with *vix*, the gerundive has the modified meaning of what may be done.

3. **diserte**: seldom before Livy. Cicero generally employs words like *aperte.* — **ita . . . si**: restrictive, *not . . . unless.* — **censuisset**: one would have expected *iussisset*, since Livy uses *censere* of the Senate and senators, *iubere* of the *populus*, *sciscere* of the *plebs;* but cf. 35. 50. 2, *amicos quos populus Romanus censuisset.* — **fuerit . . . sit**: not referred like *additum esset* to *conparandum erat*, but to Livy's own time and express his own view. Weis. — **mortuo**: if Hasdrubal's treaty was a personal one, then at his death the Carthaginians should have disowned it. Their failure to do so made them responsible, on the principle, *qui tacet, consentire videtur*, but it is possible that the Carthaginians were never officially informed of this treaty by Hasdrubal, or, in the five or six years after his death, by the Romans.

4. **etsi**, *even if.* — **qui tunc essent**, *existing;* a common periphrasis to supply the lack of adjectives of time and space; cf. *qui circa erant*, 22. 3. 12; 30. 1; *qui ibi erant*, 23. 32. 1. — **ne . . . adsumerentur**: according to the rule that what is not expressly forbidden is allowed.

5. **aecum**: Livy's defence suggests that the Roman alliance with the Saguntines was not due to their services, but to the wish of the Romans to raise an obstacle to the extension of the Carthaginian power. — **tantum ne**: sc. *cautum erat.* — **desciscentes**: as did the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia, whom the Romans supported.

19. 6—**20**. 9. The Roman envoys in Spain and Gaul.

6. **imperatum**: not elsewhere stated. — **ut . . . perlicerent**: a final clause depending on *ut adirent.*

7. **Bargusios**: an independent people living north of the Ebro, (cf. ch. 23. 2) in the neighborhood of Bergium (Vergium) identical with, or related to, the Bergistani (34. 16. 9), but for the moment Livy seems to place them south of the Ebro as subjects of Carthage (see ch. 22. 1). The Roman envoys going first to them were successful in attempting to spread disaffection among the peoples south of the river, *trans Hiberum*, but after reaching the Volciani, a people otherwise unknown, they met with a decided rebuff. — **venerunt**, *went*; cf. ch. 13. 1; not accidentally, but purposely. — **imperii**: they were independent, but dreaded the advance of Carthaginian power. Perhaps, however, the causal clause is to be joined with *erexerunt.*

8. **celebre**: the report quickly spread and produced excitement. — **concilio**: see on ch. 14. 1.

9. **quae verecundia**: almost our colloquial "What a shame!" — **postulare**, *to expect us to*; the milder shades of "demand" are poorly represented in Latin; cf. κελεύειν with its various translations. — **crudelius**: see on ch. 4. 9.

10. **censeo**: parenthetical without affecting the construction, as often in hortatory clauses, so *opinor*, *credo*, *puto* and *faxo*. — **clades**: not only the destruction of the city, but the accompanying horrors; see on ch. 57. 14. — **sicut . . . ita**, *indeed . . . but*, or *as . . . as*; cf. ch. 7. 6. — **documentum**, *warning*; Florus, 2. 6. 3, *Saguntos, fidei erga Romanos magnum quidem sed triste monimentum.* — **fidei Romanae**: of which the Romans boasted as their national virtue; see on ch. 4. 9.

11. **tulere**: as in the expressions *responsum, repulsam ferre.* — **Hispania**: the part north of the Ebro.

20. 1. **His**: sc. *Gallis* from *Galliam* above. Those nearer the

Spanish border in distinction from *ceteris*, § 7, but perhaps the name of a people has dropped out, whose *concilium* is opposed to *ceteris conciliis*. The custom of assembling in arms (cf. Caes. B. G. 5. 56) once existed at Rome when the people as an *exercitus* met in the *comitia centuriata* (cf. I. 44. 1), but had long gone out of use. — **mos gentis**: the genitive only with collectives, as in 5. 28. 3, *mos erat civitatis*; the dative with names of persons and peoples as in 29. 16. 6, *ut Graecis mos est* and often; rarely *apud* as in 29. 29. 6.

2. **petissent**, *made the request*; since they had no claim; see on *postulare*; ch. 19. 9. — **inferenti** = *si inferret*; as the envoys at that time could not have known of Hannibal's plans, Livy probably used the word *ex eventu*; see ch. 16. 6.

3. **tantus cum fremitu risus**, *such loud (derisive) laughter*; sc. *mixtus*; see on ch. 15. 6.

4. **stolida**, *absurd*. — **censere**: a loose appositive to *postulatio*, because the following final and object clauses could not easily be joined to the noun; but *censere* may be taken as an exclamatory infinitive carrying out the idea of *stolida inpudensque*, "that they should think of!" The Gauls regard the request of the Romans as a demand. — **avertere**: from the Romans.

5. **tandem**, *at last, with difficulty*: corresponds to *vix*, § 3. — **ob**: see on ch. 2. 6.

6. **contra ea**, *on the contrary*. — **audire**, *they were hearing*; the stories of the expulsion of the Senones from Picenum, in 232 B.C., were revived by the defeats of the Boii, in 224, and the building of the fortresses of Placentia and Cremona in the territory of the Insubrians, in 219 B.C. — **gentis suae homines**: cf. 6. 17. 3, *populares suos*; *gentilis* as a substantive in the meaning of *countrymen of* belongs to later writers. — **agro**: of the individual, "from his house and land"; *finibus* is rhetorical exaggeration. — **cetera indigna**, *other humiliations*, which fall to the lot of a conquered race, — enforced service, giving of hostages, etc.; see Tac. Agr. 31.

7. **pacatum**: attracted from the genitive to the construction of *hospitale*; cf. ch. 31. 11; Tac. Agr. 18. 20; the gen. in 28. 3. 5. — **satis**, *at all*; postpositive like *admodum*; cf. ch. 36. 2.

8. **sociis**: the friendly relations of Rome and Massilia dated from 390 B.C., when the Massilians, after the sack of Rome by the Gauls, sent to the Romans a friendly contribution; see ch. 25. 1;

26. 5; 22. 19. 5; 26. 19. 13.—**inquisita**: participle; **cognita**. verb; *cum cura ac fide* are to be taken together and belong to *inquisita;* cf. 32. 1. 7.—**praeoccupatos . . . ante**, *already won over;* a common pleonasm in Livy; cf. ch. 32. 7; 40. 4. 13, *multo ante praecogitatum;* 23. 6, *ante praemeditatum.*—**subinde**, *from time to time;* oftener in the meaning of *deinde;* cf. ch. 62. 6, probably a word of the popular speech, and hence transferred to the French (*souvent*).—**cuius . . . est**: Livy's remark.—**principum**: in the states whose organization was more democratic, in opposition to *reguli;* see on ch. 2. 5; cf. 31. 7; 34. 2.

9. **peragratis**: without *nequiquam* (ch. 19. 11) perhaps because the envoys succeeded in influencing the Volcae against Hannibal.—**haud ita multo**: cf. 24. 29. 1. Cicero writes *non ita multo;* similarly in ch. 24. 5, *haud gravate* stands for Cicero's *non gravate*, and in general *haud* is more common from the Augustan age. The statement here is not in accord with that of ch. 6. 3. Perhaps Scipio was still at Rome, though Sempronius had gone to Sicily.—**consules . . . profecti**; Scipio set out considerably later than Sempronius; see ch. 26. 3.—**fama**, *rumor:* hence *fama invasit*, *adfertur* and other similar expressions; ch. 1. 4.—**Hiberum . . . transisse**: as ch. 25. 1; 44. 6.

21–24. Hannibal's military preparations; passage of the Ebro and the Pyrenees.

21. 1. **concesserat**: the winter of 219–218.—**auditis**: sc. *iis*, though in a sense the next two clauses are substantives in the abl. abs. with *auditis*; *quae* is repeated to mark the different proceedings in the two cities.—**forent**: common in Livy, especially in conditional clauses, as ch. 28. 6; 31. 3; 22. 41. 3.—**causam**, *occasion;* since he had not been surrendered to the Romans; cf. 22. 61. 14; 32. 30. 12, *Hamilcar belli causa fuisset.*

2. **partitis**: passive; cf. 22. 27. 6, and so used in the classic writers before Livy; rarely active in the abl. abs., as 23. 26. 2; in other constructions *dividere praedam* is more frequently found; so 27. 32. 9; 37. 5. 3.—**reliquiis**: articles that at first were found superfluous, or could not at once be sold; see ch. 15. 2.

3. **credo ego vos**: a similar beginning of a speech in 24. 38. 1 and Cic. pro Ros. Am. 1. 1. *Ego* stands in contrast to *et ipsos.*—**socii**: Hannibal having grown up in Spain regards himself as a

Spaniard; cf. § 9, *auxilia.* — **pacatis**: from Hannibal's standpoint. — **in alias terras**: compared with § 4, *ex aliis gentibus*, made it probable that the campaign would be against peoples farther removed than those north of the Ebro, but Hannibal's real object did not appear till the crossing of the Pyrenees (ch. 23. 4), and then the rumor that he was to attack Italy rapidly spread through Gaul (ch. 24. 2).

4. **ita enim**, *only so for*, or *the latter is preferable for*; cf. ch. 17. 6.

5. **longinqua**: often temporal (5. 6. 8, *oppugnatio*; 7. 16. 3, *pax*), is shown to be local here, partly by its association with *a domo*, partly by § 3, *in alias terras* and ch. 23. 4, *longinquitate viae.* Polybius, 3. 16, says "a protracted and distant war." — **cara**: the neuter not of things only, but of persons as well.

6. **dis bene iuvantibus**: common formula, as ch. 43. 7; in later decades *dis volentibus* and *propitiis.* — **futurum**, *that will bring.* — **gloriae praedaeque**: predicate genitives of quality.

7. **potestas**: *permission.* — **iam**: *already.* — **desiderium**: *homesickness.*

8. **hiemis**: the adjective *hiemalis* is wanting in Livy; Nepos, Dat. 6. 1, *hiemale tempus.* — **quies**: is modified by two prepositional phrases, *per . . . hiemis* and *inter . . . hauriendos.* — **renovavit**: like *recreare* and *reficere* of both bodily and mental refreshment; cf. ch. 26. 5, — **vere primo**: so ch. 5. 5; commonly reversed, § 6, just as *prima luce* and *luce prima* change. The departure was delayed for some weeks; see ch. 38. 1. — **convenere**: at New Carthage where they received their furlough.

9. **recensuisset**, *had reviewed;* not *lustrasset*, because with the *mustering* of the troops was connected the allotment to their several positions and the separation of those unfit for service. — **auxilia**: the troops from outside of Spain. — **Gadis**: Cadiz, an old Tyrian colony, conquered by the Carthaginians after the first Punic war, and famous for its temple to the Phoenician Melcarth, identified with Hercules. — **exsolvit**: for his success at Saguntum. — **si**: the conclusion of the conditional clause after *vota*, here *quae ita exsolvenda essent*, is regularly omitted. — **prospere evenissent**: see on 22. 40. 3, and cf. 23. 27, 12.

10. **inde**: at the conclusion of his religious service, which Livy

must have supposed took place in Gades (ch. 22. 5), but Pol. 3. 33 more correctly places the events in New Carthage.

11. **pro eo**, *in place of this;* the following statement regarding the troops is taken with unessential variations from Pol. 3. 33 and 56, who says that he first found and copied it from a tablet of brass set up by Hannibal in the temple of Juno at Lacinium, near Croton in Italy. The untravelled Livy did not see it (28. 46. 16), but simply followed Polybius, changing the order of the forces to the usual Roman one of infantry, cavalry, and fleet, while Hannibal placed his favorite cavalry first. — **iaculatorum**: those armed with javelins, Numidians, 28. 11. 13, Mauretanians, 23. 26. 11. — **levium armis**: slingers, bowmen, and all troops armed with light missile weapons were included under the term "light-armed." The abl. with *levis* is rare; Tac. Germ. 6 *sagulo leves.* — **petiit**: implies the consent of the Carthaginian government. — **pigneribus**: the soldiers themselves were not the securities, but their families, relatives, and property which each left in the care of the other; cf. 2. 1. 5, *pignera coniugum ac liberorum.*

12. **caetratos**, *targeteers:* the *caetra* was a small wicker shield covered with leather used by the Spaniards; cf. ch. 27. 5; 28. 5. 11. — **Baliares**: Livy periocha, 60, *a teli missu* (βάλλω) *appellati;* 28. 37. 6, *fundis, ut nunc plurimum, ita tum solo eo telo utebantur, nec quisquam alterius gentis unus tantum ea arte quantum inter alios omnes Baliares excellunt.*

13. **conquisitoribus**: cf. ch. 11. 13. — **civitates**: sc. *Africae;* those subject to, or allied with, Carthage. The recruiting officers gathered the sons of prominent families to serve at once (*eosdem*, repeating *milia*) as a garrison and as hostages.

22. 1. **neque**, *also not.* — **id**, *i.e.*, *Hispaniam neglegendam.* — **haud**: see on ch. 17. 7 and 29. 4. — **circumitam**, *traversed* by the envoys mentioned in ch. 19. 6 f.

2. **Hasdrubali**: the brother who in 207 entered Italy for Hannibal's assistance. He was defeated and killed on the Metaurus by Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator. — **provinciam**: second object. — **firmat**, *secured it;* the province and not Hasdrubal, since Livy never joins *praesidiis firmare* with *aliquem*, but with *Africam*, *urbem*, *arcem*, *muros*, *saltum*, etc., and also since *praesidiis* is used of garrisons for places and not of personal body guards; cf. ch. 21.

10; 57. 6; 22. 15. 11; 49. 10. — **Afrorum**: elsewhere in Livy a substantive. — **Liguribus**: these, like the Ilergetes, § 3, were mercenaries and not contingents from subject peoples. The Ligurians, who had served on the Carthaginian side in the first Punic war (Pol. I. 67), had been at war with the Romans in 238, and again in 223.

3. **auxilia**: see on ch. 21. 9. — **Libyphoenices**: the word indicates that Livy followed a Grecian source. Momms. Hist. Bk. III. ch. 1. — **ad milia octingenti**: see on 22. 41. 2. — **Ilergetum**: a people living between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, attached to the Carthaginians, as shown by their insurrections against the Romans; see ch. 61. 5. For the name, cf. 22. 21. 6; Pol. 3. 33, Λεργητῶν, and the present name of Lerida = Ilerda. — **trecenti**: changed to accord with Polybius from *ducenti* of the MSS. The Carthaginian squadron probably consisted of 150 men, so that the Ilergetes formed two squadrons, the Libyphoenicians three, and the Numidians and Mauritanians twelve. — **elephanti**: though L. Caecilius Metellus led 120 elephants in his triumphal procession, 250 B.C. (Livy Periocha, 19), and Hasdrubal had 200 of them (see on ch. 8. 3.), yet they were used but little in the second Punic war. In the battle of Zama there were 80; see 30. 33. 4; at Pydna, *nomen tantum*, 44. 41. 4.

4. **parte**: see on ch. 17. 8. — **vicerant**: the three great naval victories of the Romans in the first Punic war off Mylae, Ecnomus and the Aegates Islands were offset by but one severe defeat, that off Drepanum. The fleets here mentioned are insignificant in comparison with those of the former war, when nearly 350 ships contended on each side. — **aptae**: as past partic. from *apisci* (*apere*) = *aptatae*, *ready for sea*; cf. ch. 27. 8; 49. 11; different in ch. 28. 8. — **triginta**, *only thirty*; see on ch. 4. 7.

5. **ab Gadibus**: reverts to ch. 21. 9. The muster there described Livy has taken from Polybius, who, however, puts it at New Carthage, and knows nothing of Hannibal's journey to Gades; Livy, in here turning from Polybius to another authority, involves the chronology. — **Onussam**: according to 22. 20. 3, a coast town between New Carthage and the Ebro, perhaps the old Iberian name of the modern Valentia. — **ora**: ablative of road by which, like *via*; A. & G. 258, g.; G. 403; H. 420, n. 1. 3.

6. **ibi**: at the Ebro, the treaty boundary the crossing of which is thus, as it were, excused. — **in quiete**: so 8. 6. 9, equivalent to the *in somnis* of 2. 36. 4. Cicero has *secundum quietem;* later writers, *per quietem.* — **visum ab eo**, *appeared to him;* the Latin prefers the passive since in sleep one receives impressions which he cannot oppose. — **iuvenem . . . ducem**: Livy perhaps thinks of Ἡρακλῆς ἡγεμών (ch. 21. 9; 41. 7). Cicero in reporting the dream, De Div. I. 24. 49, says that Hannibal was summoned to an assembly of the gods, and being directed to invade Italy, was given as a guide *unum e concilio (deorum).* — **proinde**: introduces a command or exhortation, given as the inference from the preceding statement.

7. **cura ingenii humanii**, *with the curiosity natural to man. Curiositas* occurs once in Cicero (ad Att. 2. 12. 2), and afterward in Apuleius, Gellius and other late writers. Sallust, Jug. 93. 3, has *more humani ingeni.*

8. **serpentem**: the symbol of war, as *nimbum* of devastation. Cicero says *l.c., beluam vastam et immanem circumplicatam serpentibus.* — **mira magnitudine**: the ablative of quality as in I. 45. 4; the genitive is much more common of essential characteristics. A. & G. 215, n. 1; G. 402, Rem.; H. 419, 2. — **virgultorum**: Coelius adds *tectorum*, referring to the destruction of Italian cities, but this Livy omits as unfulfilled. — **ferri**, *rolled along;* of its irresistible movement. — **cum . . . nimbum**, *a black thunder cloud.*

9. **esse**, *portended.* — **pergeret porro ire**: the words were *perge porro ire;* cf. I. 37. 5; 9. 2. 8.

23. 1. **tripertito**: abl. abs. used as adverb. A. & G. 255, c.; G. 438, Rem. 2.; H. 431. 4, n. 2. Previous writers seldom use this impersonal form of the participle; cf. ch. 7. 4; 25. 9; 63. 7; 22. 4. 4; 5. 52. 2, *inaugurato;* 23. 42. 9, *explorato.* The statement is wanting in Polybius, and is probably taken from the same source as the similar statements in ch. 5. 16 and 7. 4, which casts a doubt on their value. Note that Livy proceeds as if the dream were true (*laetus*), while before it was only *fama.* — **copias**: Appian, Hann. 4, adds 37 elephants. Perhaps two-thirds of the army were Africans and a third Spaniards. — **milia**: more frequently omitted in the second clause; cf. ch. 59. 1, and often, yet added if the smaller number follows; cf. 22. 49. 15.

2. **Bargusiosque**: see on ch. 19. 7. — **Ausetanos**: in the west

ern part of Catalonia around Vich (= *vicus Ausetanorum*). — **Lace tania**: see on ch. 60. 3. — **subegit**: their subjection cost Hannibal about 20,000 men, so that reckoning 11,000 left with Hanno and 10,000 desertions, his force on crossing the Pyrenees was reduced to 50,000 foot and 9000 horse. — **fauces**: the pass by which Hannibal reached Gaul was probably that near Juncaria, now Junquera, over which a Roman road was made at a later time. It brought him down to Iliberri, now Elne.

3. **ad praesidium**: so in ch. 60. 5. — **Hannoni**: who also had the care of the baggage and valuables left by Hannibal's army; see ch. 60. 9. — **obtinendae**, *to be held*.

4. **Pyrenaeum saltum**: so in ch. 30. 5; Nepos, Hann. 3. 3; oftener *P. montes*, § 2; ch. 26. 4; 60. 2; in other authors also *Pyreneum*. — **barbaros**: Hannibal's army. — **iter averterunt**, *deserted;* Livian expression for *signa deserere;* cf. 22. 8. 1; 9. 3. — **inexsuperabili**: this adjective used first by Livy of mountains, etc., is here applied to the road over them; cf. 5. 34. 6, *Alpes in.;* ch. 39. 7 and 9. *Insuperabilis*, first in the silver age, except in poetry, is not used by Livy.

5. **anceps**, *dangerous*, without a substantive = *periculosum*, in Livy found only here and in 27. 20. 2.

6. **remisit**: the Carthaginian version which knows nothing of the desertion of the 3000; see Pol. 3. 35. — **et ipsos**: *also*, as well as the Carpetani. — **senserat**, *had felt*, from their behavior; stronger than *animadvertere*.

24. 1. **Pyrenaeum**: sc. *saltum*, not *montem;* see on ch. 23. 4; so ch. 30. 6; 60. 9. The name of the pass, *scalae Hannibalis*, continued till the later centuries; Pomponius Mela, 2. 6. — **Iliberri**: indeclinable when *oppidum* is added; cf. 23. 49. 5, *Iliturgi oppidum;* 34. 10. 1; without *oppidum* acc. fem. *Iliberrim*, §§ 3 and 5; 24. 41. 8, *Iliturgim oppugnare*.

2. **Ruscinonem**: like Iliberri, a Gallic town on a river of the same name near the modern Perpignan. There is still an old tower called *La Tour de Roussillon*. — **aliquot populi**: in restrictive apposition to *Galli*.

3. **conloqui**: as often, the *oratio obliqua* after a word of sending, implying a message, without an introductory word. — **et**: inserted by Livy for euphony. — **vel . . . vel**: imply that their choice was

free and Hannibal indifferent, but in § 4 *laetum* and *nec cunctanter* suggest that Hannibal preferred the former. — **propius**: see on ch. 1. 2.

4. **hospitem . . . hostem**: see on ch. 4. 2; cf. 23. 33. 7, *hostes pro hospitibus;* 22. 30. 4. — **si . . . liceat**, *if the Gauls would permit. Per* often denotes a permissive agent. — **Italiam**: accords with the consideration mentioned in ch. 29. 6.

5. **nuntios**: the *oratores* of § 3. The usual order is *et haec quidem per nuntios;* sc. *egit.* — **ut vero**: contrasts the not entirely successful work of the envoys with the personal influence of Hannibal. — **haud gravate**: see on ch. 20. 9. — **Poenum**: Hannibal, as ch. 59. 5, *Romanus* the Roman general; cf. ch. 18. 13. — **cum bona pace**, *unmolested;* cf. ch. 32. 6; 1. 24. 3, *foedus ictum . . . ut alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret.* — **praeter**: since the gates were doubtless kept closed; cf. ch. 22. 5.

25, 26. Gallic uprising; Pol. 3. 40. 41.

25. 1. **in Italiam**: the shifting of the scene to Italy and the change of the narrator's position from the Carthaginian to the Roman side is marked by the position of the words, and defined more closely by *Romam*, to which *a Massiliensium legatis* belong. *Italiam* is used in the narrower sense, excluding Cisalpine Gaul; for the Boii, who were in correspondence with Hannibal (see ch. 29. 6; 52. 4), would have received word directly from Hannibal, and not through Rome.

2. **defecerunt**: the Romans had subdued the Boii on the south bank of the Po in 224, and the Insubrians, on the north bank, in 223. — **in populum**: see on ch. 11. 3; in 4. 57. 9, *iram dictatoris creati*, the anger is at the election, not the person. — **nuper**: modifies *deductas.* In accordance with their general plan for holding conquered lands in subjection, the Romans were establishing in the country taken from the Gauls two military fortresses, one at Placentia (Piacenza), on the south bank of the Po, and one at Cremona, on the north bank. They were colonies of the "Latin right," and consisted each of 6000 men. The amount of land taken for the colonists was determined by the senate or the people, and usually amounted to one-third of the conquered territory, in exceptional cases to two-thirds; see 2. 41. 1; 8. 1. 3. In the midsummer of 218 the fortifications were so incomplete that the commissioners distrusted their ability to hold them, § 3, but by the last

of the year they were so strong that Hannibal, after the battle of the Ticinus, did not dare to attack them; ch. 47. 8. — **circa**: see on ch. 43. 4; 54. 1. — **colonias**: separates the two prepositional modifiers.

3. **agrum**: that taken for the colonists. — **terroris ac tumultus**: often joined; cf. ch. 55. 9; 22. 28. 14; see on ch. 4. 2. — **agrestis . . . multitudo**: the Roman surveyors, and those at work in the field. — **Mutinam**: probably because the Romans south of the river were cut off from Placentia and could not cross to Cremona. The town, now Modena, was taken from the Boii, but though surrounded with walls (§ 8), was not made a colony till 183. — **C. Lutatius**: Catulus, not the victor at the Aegates Islands, but *consul vitio creatus* of 220. He was kept a prisoner sixteen years; see 30. 19. 7. — **Servilius**: released with Lutatius, after he had long been thought dead; see 27. 21. 10.

4. **haud dubium**: because he is mentioned by Polybius, who indicates the other two simply as ex-praetors.

5. **legati**, *as envoys*. — **ad Boios**: placed after *missi* to avoid the immediate recurrence of *ad*. — **triumviros**, *as commissioners*; the persons were the same, though confused by annalists, and the alternative here is to put the Gauls in the wrong in either case. Polybius says that after the hostile demonstrations against the colonists the commissioners asked for a conference with the Boii, and were seized on their return.

6. **ad . . . rudis**, *without skill in the art of siege*; a not uncommon construction; cf. 24. 48. 5; 28. 25. 8, as here, to avoid two genitives; with gen. 1. 7. 8, *rudi artium*. — **segnis adsideret**: the verb in its proper meaning (ch. 53. 6, *adsidens aegro*) has in opposition to *obsidere* the idea of inactivity, cf. 24. 36. 9, *frustra adsidendo spectandoque*; so the simple verb in 22. 3. 10; 24. 10; 56. 3. — **intactis . . . muris**, *without attacking*; a substitute for our verbal.

7. **evocati**: the regular word with *ad conloquium*; cf. 23. 43. 9; 25. 28. 3; and often of a summons to a besieged garrison, as 24. 1. 5. — **legati**: Livy takes the alternative, § 5, most favorable to the Romans. — **in id tempus**: during the negotiations. — **obsides**: those given by the Gauls in former wars. — **eos**: the Romans.

8. **Manlius**: according to the common view his troops were at Ariminum, but more probably they were at Placentia and Cremona

(where Pol. 3. 40, says they were diligently at work on the fortifications) for Tannetum, where he was blockaded, § 13, was between Parma and Mutina. — **ad**: without reaching it. Manlius's army was *effusum* from over-confidence.

9. **inexplorato**: see on ch. 23. 1. — **praecipitatur**: middle as in 22. 6. 5: 25. 16. 15 (where, as in this place, Madvig has *praecipitat*); 38. 2. 14; in the first decade intransitive; see 2. 51. 5; 5. 18. 7, *in insidias praecipitare*; 7. 6. 9; 25. 11. 5; impersonal passive, 3. 43. 5. One must distinguish from this middle use the transitive *praecipitare*, 41. 11. 4; *praecipitare se*, ch. 14. 1; 23. 19. 6, and the passive *praecipitari*, 22. 12. 11; 25. 24. 5.

10. **ad temptanda**: instead of the genitive, as with *finis*, § 13.

11. **de integro**: this second attack is probably a repetition of the first taken from another source, since the single events, forest, loss, safety in the open plain, and encampment are the same, and since Polybius and Appian know of only one disaster.

12. **pavore**: a *seditio militaris* broke out, on account of which Manlius vowed a temple to Concord; see 22. 33. 7. — **omnium**, *general*; corresponding to *magna*.

13. **territandi et pavendi**: so 22. 5. 4, and often. — **Tannetum**: Tanneto near Reggio, at some distance from the Po. — **contendere**: perfect.

14. **ad tempus**, *temporary*; see on ch. 15. 6. — **commeatibus fluminis**: brought by the river. In view of the position of the town, this is a pure supposition on the part of Livy or his authority; see ch. 57. 5. — **Brixianorum**: under this name Livy seems to have understood not the inhabitants of Brixia (Brescia), whom he classes under the Cenomani in ch. 55. 4, but of Brixellum or Brixillum (Brescello) on the Po. — **etiam** = *vel*; implies the unexpected character of the support. — **Gallorum**: added as in ch. 38. 7; 10. 26. 7, *Senones Galli*; so Pol. 3. 40, οἱ Βοῖοι καλούμενοι Γαλάται. — **in dies**, *from day to day*; used with comparatives and verbs like *augere*, *senescere*; cf. ch. 11. 11; 22. 39. 15; with *expectare*, 26. 12. 9; *cotidie*, *daily*, denotes simple repetition; Cic. ad Att. 5. 7, *cotidie vel potius in dies singulos breviores litteras ad te mitto.* — **tutabantur**: because the Gauls at first besieged them; see ch. 43. 14.

26. 1. **tumultus**: see on ch. 5. 4 and 16. 4. — **bellum**: belongs rather to *Punicum*, and *tumultu* is easily supplied by *zeugma*.

2. **una legione**: the statement of Polybius, 3. 40, that a legion assigned to Scipio was sent to Manlius, may be harmonized with Livy's by supposing that a legion was hastily formed of troops enrolled, *dilectu novo*, but not yet fully organized and equipped. The smallness of the reinforcement shows that the Romans did not suspect an alliance between Hannibal and the Gauls, or did not believe that Hannibal would escape Scipio. — **consule**: Scipio. — **conscriptis**: belongs to *legione* also. — **qui**, *and he;* Atilius. — **abscesserant**: Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust use *decedere.*

26, 3—**29**. Scipio and Hannibal on the Rhone; first cavalry skirmish. Mostly from Polybius, but with a different arrangement of details.

3. **cum**, *under the command of;* cf. ch. 40 3; 54. 4; 69. 9. — **nova**: making seven for the year; see ch. 17. 2. Scipio's departure was delayed by it till August. — **longis navibus**: used also in reverse order. The simple abl. (modal), 28. 46. 1; 30. 24. 6, is more frequent than with *cum*, 22. 22. 1. So with land forces. — **Ligurum**: limits *montis*, as shown by *que et;* cf. 34. 8. 6, *praetervecti Ligustinos montes.* — **Salluvium**: between the Maritime Alps and the Rhone. The voyage took about a week.

4. **proximum**: sc. *Italiae.* — **pluribus**: the number given varies between two and seven. — **vixdum**: modifies *satis;* see on ch. 11. 6; cf. ch. 57. 9; 22. 4. 4.

5. **animadvertit**, *was assured.* — **refectis**: see on ch. 21. 8; cf. ch. 25. 10; 27. 6; Tac. Hist. 1. 31, *refovebat.* — **iactura marituma**, *seasickness;* so *iactura navis;* cf. ch. 48. 7. — **interim**, *for the time being.* — **ad exploranda omnia**: this construction is preferred to a supine because of the object, as in ch. 32. 9; 46. 3; the supine in 22. 42. 4, *exploratum mittere.* — **visendos**, *to reconnoitre.*

6. **ceteris**: the Gauls, except the Volcae. — **Volcarum**: a powerful Celtic tribe in two main divisions (*Volcae Arecomici* and *Volcae Tectosages*) dwelling between the Garonne, the Rhone, and the Cévennes. Hannibal's route from Perpignan probably took him past Nîmes to the Rhone, above Avignon, which he probably crossed in the neighborhood of Roquemaure and Orange. — **validae**: in numbers; see ch. 60. 4. — **colunt**, *dwell.* — **circa**: see on ch. 43. 4. — **suis**: neuter.

7. **ceteros**: implies that Hannibal found other Gallic tribes on

the west bank besides the Volcae, which is improbable since the Volcae extended so far northward, but the addition gives a better ground for *ingens vis navium*, § 8. — **eorum ipsorum** = *Volcarum*, depending on the omitted antecedent of *quos*. — **suae**: the west bank. — **perlicit**: Polybius says he bought boats. — **contrahendas**: which was easy to do as many of the people engaged in commerce on the river. — **simul et ipsi**: the change of subject, as if *accolae simul perliciebantur* had preceded, emphasizes both Hannibal's acts and the wishes of the Gauls.

8. **vicinalem**: Livy greatly increased the number of derivative adjectives in *alis* in use in good prose before his time, partly by adopting words hitherto poetic, partly by new formations. So ch. 54. 7, *nivalis*; 26. 49. 15, *matronalis* (Cic. *uxorius*); the often repeated *iuvenalis* from Vergil; 1. 28. 1, *lustralis*; 24. 34. 9, *cubitalis*; 44. 46. 7, *intermuralis*, appear new; cf. also 25. 18. 11, *turmalis*, and 41. 13. 1, *sangualem*, apparently taken from the augural language. — **novasque alias**: join with *lintrium*, not *navium*. — **primum . . . inchoantes**: pleonastic; see on ch. 20. 8.

9. **materiae**: building material, as 26. 47. 10, *materies navalis ad classem aedificandam*; *lignum*, "fuel." — **alveos informes**, *shapeless dugouts*; not as good as *lintres*. — **dummodo**: a conditional wish. A. & G. 314; G. 575; H. 513, 1.

27. 1. **iam**: i.e. two days. — **ex adverso**, *in front*; the Latin prefers to express the point from which an action proceeds or an effect is produced, while we prefer the point in or at which, using "where" or "on"; cf. *ab tergo*, § 3, ch. 28. 2; 34. 7; 57. 12; see on ch. 5. 9 and 10. 9. — **equites virique**: for the common *equi virique*, because *equi* would not accord with *hostes*. *Viri* here infantry, in § 5 horsemen.

2. **averteret**: sc. *Hannibal*; see on ch. 23. 4. — **Hannonem**: Polybius says the son of one of the suffetes, not the same as the one in ch. 23. 2, or others of the same name in the third decade. — **noctis**: pleonastic, as in 25. 9. 1. — **Hispanis**: because they were skilful swimmers (ch. 47. 4), and doubtless could better endure long marches than the Africans (ch. 57. 5). — **iter unius diei**: the cognate accusative, if a substantive, is generally accompanied by some modifier, which is omitted only in archaic expressions; cf. 9. 10. 9, *nocere noxam*; 40. 18. 7, *servitutem servire*.

3. **quam occultissime**, *as secretly as possible;* the construction supposes an omitted *tam occulte.*

4. **duces**, *guides.* There is now a small island "about 25 miles up the river," just above the mouth of the Ardèche. — **supra**, *farther up.* — **latiore . . . alveo**: ablative of description with *amnem.* See Appendix. There was no ford, but the greater width and consequent lesser current gave an easier passage. The island also afforded a rest in the middle of the crossing. — **dividebatur**: the indicative is common in the *oratio obliqua* to mark an explanation of the narrator. A. & G. 335, 6; G. 630, R.; H. 524, 2. 1.

5. **ibi**: at the island. — **mole**, *trouble.* — **vestimentis**: see on ch. 4. 8. — **caetris**: see on ch. 21. 12. As the same account of the crossing of the Po in ch. 47. 5 is taken from Coelius, it is probable that this story is also from him. Caesar gives a similar account of the Lusitanians in B. C. I. 48. *caetris* is dative.

6. **et**: connects the thoughts of *tranavere* and *traiectus.* The Spaniards swam the river, and the rest of the army (*alius* = *reliquus*, often in Livy) crossed on rafts. — **ratibus iunctis**, *by constructing rafts;* not *inter se*, but after the analogy of *pontem iungere* (= *iungendo pontem facere*). — **operis labore**: both the making of the boats and the construction of the camp. *Opus* is "work" objectively, the thing done; *labor* is work subjectively, with reference to the toil or pains spent by the individual.

7. **postero die**: the third day of his absence. — **ex loco edito**: modifies *significant.* — **accepit**: from the watchmen. — **tempori**: equivalent to *occasioni;* cf. 22. 39. 21.

8. **aptatas**: ready for the boatmen to take the oars. — **ad . . . fluminis**, *for stemming the current.* — **transmittens**: used absolutely; as in ch. 17. 6; 51. 4.

9. **equorum**: three or four on each side of the stern. Curtius, 7. 36. 4, has imitated this account. — **pars . . . nantes**: synesis, often in Livy; cf. ch. 20. 1; 40. 9; 46. 4; 49. 10, etc. — **praeter eos**: an addition of Livy; Polybius, 3. 43, after the same account as above, adds "so that a large number of horses was taken over at the first passage." — **equiti usui**: two datives, *usui essent* supplying the place of a passive of *uti.*

28. 1. **occursant**: of disorderly movement as in 2. 45. 10; distinguished from *occurrere.* — **ululatibus**: of the Gauls of Brennus

in 5. 39. 5; of the Macedonians in 44. 37. 9; of the Tolostobogii in 38. 17. 4; often of women, but never in Livy of the Romans; Curtius has, 3. 30. 3, *barbaro ululatu.* — **cantuque moris sui**: national songs; cf. 10. 26. 11, *Gallos ovantes moris sui carmine;* 23. 26. 9, *tripudiantes more suo* of the national dance. — **quatientes**: like *concutientes;* of a Gaul in 7. 26. 1; cf. 38. 17. 4, *cantus inchoantium proelium et ulutatus et tripudia et quatientium scuta in patrium quendam modum horrendus armorum crepitus, omnia de industria conposita ad terrorem;* Caes. B. G. 7. 21. — **tela**: spears, not swords.

2. **et ex adverso**: to this *et* should correspond another before *ab tergo* in the next sentence, but after the long clauses a change is made. — **nautarum militum**: Madvig has *militumque*, but the confusion is indicated by the asyndeton which often marks a contrast (see on ch. 10. 3) as in ch. 34. 6; 26. 13. 18, *oculos auris.* — **nitebantur**: the exertion of the rowers.

3. **terror circumstabat**: the same personification often with an added object; cf. 6. 9. 10, *terror Etruscos circumstaret;* 42. 65. 8; absolute in 6. 2. 4. This personification and that of *adortus clamor* make the scene much more vivid; see on ch. 16. 2.

4. **vim facere**, *to make a stand.* — **pellebantur**: the imperfect is used not only of repeated actions, but more often, and especially with *postquam*, of incomplete ones. As the Gauls were hard pushed, they determined to flee before it was too late. — **per otium traiectis**: the opportunity was apparently used to count the army; see Pol. 3. 60.

5. **consilia**: Livy so adjusts the two plans for the crossing of the elephants that the first appears only as proposed, or perhaps tried in a single instance, while the second as the one employed. — **variat**: so in 22. 36. 1; 27. 27. 14, *fama variat.* — **quidam**: Coelius, as appears from Frontinus, 1. 7. 2. — **congregatis**: *vocabulum proprium* on account of the following *gregem.* — **ferocissimum**: used as superlative of *ferus;* see on ch. 60. 4. Front. l.c. *iussit ferocissimum elephantum sub aure vulnerari et eum qui vulnerasset, transnato statim flumine procurrere. elephantus exasperatus ad persequendum doloris sui auctorem transnavit amnem et reliquis idem audendi fecit exemplum.* — **nantem**: join with *elephantum*, but in § 12 Livy seems to believe, as did Polybius, that elephants cannot swim (so Pliny N. H. 8. 28, *gaudent amnibus cum alioquin nare propter magnitudinem corporis non possint*). They refer the action of the animals in the

water to *ferocia* (anger at the driver), or fear, *urgentes*, § 11. — **destitueret**: iterative subjunctive. A. & G. 309, b.; G. 569, R. 2; H. 518, 1. How the current could take them across is not clear. Perhaps Livy had in mind that a jutting point threw the stream from the right toward the left bank.

6. **foret**: subjunctive with condition implied in *ante rem;* see on ch. 21. 1. — **pronius est**: like *magis inclinat*, while *pronus in aliquid* is used of men.

7. **unam**: made of two parts according to Polybius, 3. 46. — **longam**: cf. the order with ch. 8. 11. — **secunda aqua**, *down the current;* cf. *adverso flumine*, ch. 21. 2. — **validis**: without *que;* see on ch. 9. 3. — **parte superiore**: to trees; Pol. 3. 46. — **modum**: so in ch. 41. 4; *modo* is also used with a following genitive in comparisons as in ch. 30. 8; 33. 7.

9. **actuariis**: light boats with at most not more than thirty oars; see 38. 38. 8. *ab* with reference to the rowers.

10. **agerentur**: "whenever they were taken," or perhaps it refers to the feelings of elephants, "as long as they felt," etc., the subjunctive with *donec* expressing an iterative or perhaps causal idea. A. & G. 328, a.; G. 574, R.; H. 519, 2, n. 1. — **ceteris**, *everything else;* neut. plural. — **in altum**: used generally of the deep sea.

11. **trepidationis**: the uncertain, purposeless movements often resulting from fear; the motions of one who has "lost his head." *pavor* is "panic."

12. **excidere . . . saevientes**: reverts to *trepidationis;* some in their blind fear and fury fell into the water. — **pedetentim**: probably from *pes* and *tendere;* not simply slowly, but carefully feeling their way along the bottom and selecting the shallows. Polybius says they breathed by raising their trunks above the water.

29. 1. **dum . . . interim**: with the historical present in the main clause as in ch. 47. 7; with the perfect, 22. 31. 1; 52. 4; see on *cum . . . tum*, ch. 11. 8. — **quingentos**: Carthaginian cavalry divisions of similar strength are mentioned in ch. 45. 2; 22. 48. 2; 26. 38. 11, and also in other authors (Pol. 3. 44), so that the composition of the Carthaginian cavalry regiment seems to have corresponded in its three squadrons (see ch. 22. 3) to the Roman *ala;* see 10. 29. 12. — **miserat**: after receiving the report, though Livy does not mention it, of Scipio's landing in ch. 26. 3.

2. **ut ante dictum est**: Livy's references to previous statements are usually in the passive; see 1. 37. 4; 22. 24. 1; 23. 8. 2; less often with *diximus*, 22. 28. 8, and still more rarely and first in the fourth decade with *dixi*, 35. 15. 2. — **trecenti**: besides its Roman cavalry each legion had at least an equal number of auxiliaries (§ 3, etc.; 26. 5), so that the Roman force in this skirmish could not have been less than 600. — **atrocius**: the regular adjective for "bloody," "sanguinary." Disproportion is expressed by *quam pro* and a comparative.

3. **vulnera**: metonymy for *vulnerátos*. — **caedes**, *the loss in killed*. — **fuga et pavor**, *panic-stricken flight*; an expression that does not accord with the preceding. Livy often joins two words of similar meaning for rhetorical effect; see on ch. 7. 1; cf. 17. 8; 26. 3; 31. 12; 33. 8, etc. — **amplius**: modifies the number, not the construction. A. & G. 247, c.; G. 311, 4; H. 417, n. 2.

4. **summae rerum** = *summae belli*, *the war as a whole*; see on ch. 16. 2. — **haud sane incruentam**: "by no means bloodless," "very bloody," since the Romans lost in this first skirmish nearly a third of their number in killed, and in the whole war perhaps 300,000 men; cf. *haud incruento*, 2. 56. 15; on the other hand, 40. 32. 7, *magna victoria, non tamen incruenta fuit*, "not quite without loss," about 200 from two legions. It is not clear whether Livy made a difference between *haud* and *non*, or in the later books occasionally employed *non* for variety; cf. *non iniquus*, 32. 11. 3, with *haud*, 28. 2. 7; *non incertum*, 33. 10. 10, with *haud*, 4. 45. 1; and similar contrasts in 33. 11. 8 and 2. 1. 2; 33. 21. 2 and 23. 42. 13; see on ch. 22. 1.

5. **re . . . gesta**: of a single engagement; *res gestae* of a whole campaign. — **ad utrumque . . . sui**: hypallage for *ad suum utrique*. The usual *suus quisque* would not give the idea of the two sides. — **sententia**; sc. *alia*. Scipio had expected to intercept Hannibal, but now found that he could only follow the leadings of his enemy. — **et ipse conatus**: more forcible than *sua* (sc. *consilia*). — **nec . . . et**: the sentence would naturally have read *et Hannibal incertus erat . . . sed avertit*, but the change in the subject and the chiasmus make it much more vivid.

6. **exercitus**: noticeable attraction; see on ch. 32. 5. Adjectives like *primus* and superlatives are regularly attracted into the relative clause to prevent the ambiguity arising from the lack of

"the," but the antecedent itself is not often attracted. Hannibal does not seem to have had any intention of fighting till he reached Italy, and the introduction of the Gallic messengers was doubtless for the effect upon the army. — **integro bello**: i.e. without fighting, more exactly explained by *libatis viribus*. Hannibal had now 38,000 foot and 8000 horse. — **nusquam**: for *nec usquam*, asyndeton corresponding to that with *duces . . . socios*.

7. **timebat**: probably very few of Hannibal's soldiers had any remembrance of the first Punic war. *timere* is fear, subjectively, timidity arising from a sense of weakness against an enemy or danger; *metuere* is objective, dread, apprehension in view of the magnitude of the danger. — **superioris**: *prius* is oftener applied in this decade to the first Punic war as in ch. 10. 5; 40. 5; *primus* in ch. 1. 2 is not taken in historical connection, and in 22. 42. 9 is absolute. — **magis**: a similar thought in ch. 23. 4. — **iter . . . Alpesque**: almost a hendiadys, *the long journey ending with the Alps*, reckoned from the Rhone and not from Spain; see ch. 30. 5. — **fama**: modifies *horrendam*. — **utique**: common in Livy. The *que* gives indefiniteness to *uti*, and the compound means "anyhow," "at all events," and hence "especially," "certainly." Capes: cf. ch. 38. 8; 48. 5; 54. 9; 22. 23. 3.

30. Hannibal's speech to his soldiers.

Polybius relates a similar speech at the passage of the Rhone, but Livy gives it greater rhetorical effect by placing it after the defeat of the cavalry. This chapter, like ch. 16, deserves careful attention for its style, both in respect to the choice and arrangement of words and to the arrangement of the subject-matter. Beginning with a slight expression of surprise, sufficient to arouse the soldiers' interest, the speaker recalls their past victories, and then turns to encouragement. The dangers already passed are skilfully massed in opposition to the one danger of the passage of the Alps, and this danger is still further belittled by a reference to the exploits of others. The peroration by a happy reference to Saguntum sets Rome before their eyes as a prize immeasurably superior to all others. The union of statement, question, and suggestion is very striking. Note among many points the force of the position of *indignatos*, *militi*, *Saguntum* (§ 9), *Romam*, *cepisse*, and the vigor of the break, *subsistere . . . quid Alpis*.

30. 1. **sententia stetit**: in opposition to the indecision of Scipio; see ch. 29. 5. The same expression with the infinitive in 34. 12. 3; 44. 3. 1; *in sententia*, 4. 44. 9. — **Italiam**: not Scipio. — **varie**: explained by *castigando adhortando*, so 2. 2. 9.

2. **terror**: owing to the defeat of the Numidians. — **omnes**: see on ch. 5. 17; 21. 3. — **que et**: not uncommon in Livy (22. 44. 5; 23. 26. 8; 25. 16. 19), but in Sallust and Tacitus almost never used except when the first member is a pronoun, mostly *seque et*. — **diversa**, *opposite;* Atlantic and Mediterranean.

3. **quicumque**: one of the many exaggerations in which the speech abounds. — **obsedissent**: not *expugnassent*, since Livy represents the first embassy as coming during the siege; so. ch. 44. 4. — **nomen Romanorum**: to balance the sentence instead of *nomen Romanum;* again in ch. 43. 12. — **orbem terrarum**: applicable to Livy's time, but not to that of Hannibal.

4. **exortus**: poetic plural with reference to the daily marches. — **intenderent iter**: as in ch. 29. 6.

5. **maiorem partem**: the basis of the story that only this fact kept Hannibal from turning back. — **emensam**: an evident reference to *inmensum* in ch. 29. 7. First used passively by Vergil, Georg. 1. 450; cf. Livy's use of *expertus*, ch. 1. 2; *depopulatus*, ch. 51. 4; *auspicato*, ch. 63. 9. — **prohibentibus**: concessive. — **conspectu**: only in the distance (*prospectus*); cf. ch. 32. 7.

6. **quid . . . credentes**: the interrogative pronoun is occasionally joined with a participle to express displeasure, as in 6. 23. 5; 24. 26. 7. — **montium altitudines**, *mountainous heights;* so 27. 18. 9.

7. **Pyrenaei**: see on ch. 24. 1. — **nullas . . . terras**, *no portions of the earth.* — **paucis**: the envoys of the Boii. — **exercitibus**: the Gallic migrations. The argument was for present effect only; cf. 40. 21. 3, *viam exercitui nullam esse paucis et expeditis per difficillimum aditum.*

8. **pinnis**: a rare secondary form of *penna;* in the plural "wings," different from *pluma*, the feathers as a covering; see Quint. 1. 4. 12. — **sublime**, *through the air;* in imitation of Verg. Georg. 3. 108; also in Cicero; not *in sublime ferri.* — **advenas**, *from other countries;* used adjectively with *cultores;* cf. 1. 34. 5, *exule advena;* 2. 1. 4, *plebs transfuga;* ch. 39. 3, *exercitus tiro;* see on ch. 40. 11. — **agminibus**: modal abl. — **liberis**: placed first as more effective,

oftener reversed, as in ch. 13. 7 and 9; 14. 4; 41. 16. — **modo**: see on ch. 28. 7. — **transmisisse**: in good prose used only of waters, here freely for *transire, transgredi* or *transcendere*, following Verg. Aen. 4. 154, *transmittunt cursu campos*.

9. **nihil**: their condition was thus better than that of emigrants. Their baggage has been left in Spain; see ch. 60. 9. — **inexsuperabile**: see on ch. 23. 4.

10. **caput**: an anachronism like *orbis terrarum*, § 3. — **quicquam**: implied negation, *nihil tam asperum*. Note the following alliteration; the same in Sall. Cat. 7. 5, and similar ones often in Livy. — **quod**: oftener *ut id* after *adeo*.

11. **ea**: Rome and its possessions, taken by the Gauls under Brennus, 390 B.C. — **proinde**: see on ch. 22. 6. — **totiens**: hyperbole. — **campum**: sc. *Martium*, about which Hannibal and his soldiers could have known but little. — **moenibus Romanis**: more impressive than *Romae*, so in ch. 16. 6; 35. 9; 41. 15. Note the change of tense *cederent . . . sperent*, corresponding to the wishes that they *should not* and *should*.

31–38. The passage of the Alps, mainly after Polybius, 3. 47–57, but with portions from other authors (ch. 31. 9–12; 32. 7; 37. 2 and 3).

31. 1. **corpora curare**: usually *cibo somnoque;* sometimes by bathing or oiling the limbs. The command was often given preparatory to a night action as in ch. 54. 2.

2. **adversa ripa**: instead of the more common *adverso flumine* of ch. 27. 2; opposed to *secundo flumine;* see ch. 28. 7; 47. 3. — **mediterranea Galliae**: the substantival use of the adjective, singular or plural, with a genitive, not common before Livy, is frequent with him. — **non quia . . . esset**: in accord with its conceptive character the subjunctive is regularly used in clauses in which a given reason is said not to be the effective one. A. & G. 321, R.; G. 541, R. 1; H. 516, 2. — **quantum . . . minus**, *the farther . . . the less;* the regular construction in comparative clauses, *quanto . . . tanto*, is often varied when a verb with an accusative takes the place of the adjective; as 6. 38. 5, *quanto iure potentior erat tantum vinceretur favore = tanto inferior esset.* In such cases *tanto* or *eo* is usually omitted before *minus* or *magis;* cf. ch. 54. 8.

3. **cum quo**: never *quocum* or *quibuscum* in Livy or Nepos. — **priusquam . . . foret**, *not till he had.*

4. **quartis castris,** *four days' march;* abl. abs., a current expression, used by Caesar, B. G. 7. 36. — **diversis ex Alpibus,** *from several Alpine sources* (not *opposite*, as in ch. 30. 2). — **agri**: this route afforded better supplies for the army. — **confluunt**: hence the name "Confluentes," cf. 1. 27 4.; 4. 17. 12, "Conflans," "Coblenz." *In unum* often joined with verbs compounded with *con.* — **inditum**: again in ch. 38. 6 and 9; Sall. Jug. 78.

5. **prope**: on the north bank of the Isère, in Dauphiné and Savoy. — **iam inde,** *from then* (stronger than *iam tum*), till their subjugation by the Romans, 121 B.C., under Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus. The student will recall their connection with the conspiracy of Catiline.

6. **et qui prius**: a second description, hence *et;* omitted in translation. — **pellebatur**: the quarrel was in progress. Polybius says that the elder brother asked and received the assistance of Hannibal, and then accompanied Hannibal with his forces to the foot of the Alps. By *delegata* Livy seems to think that the two parties jointly submitted their case to Hannibal.

8. **rerum omnium**: especially weapons according to Polybius. — **vestis**: collective, including shoes (Polybius); see on ch. 4. 8. — **frigoribus**: incident to the advanced season; ch. 35. 7.

9. **Hannibal**: Livy rarely encloses the subject in an abl. abs. (ch. 48. 5; 22. 17. 7), a usage common in other writers. — **ad laevam**: many unsatisfactory conjectures have been made to explain these words, which, if taken literally, indicate an opposite direction from that actually taken by Hannibal. It would seem that Livy, who here abandons the narrative of Polybius for Coelius, was himself in uncertainty. The discussion over Hannibal's route was very sharp in Livy's own time (ch. 38). The route here given by Livy was along the Isère as far as the Drac, then up that valley and across the watershed to the Durance by Embrun and Briançon, and over the Alpes Cottiae (Mont Genèvre) to the country of the Taurini, Turin. The much more probable route is that indicated by Polybius, who says that he both received the accounts of persons living at that time, and personally visited the Alps to inspect Hannibal's route. He says that Hannibal went ten days' march up the Rhone. This would have brought him to the neighborhood of Vienne. From there, probably turning eastward, he passed by

Bourgoin, and crossing the foot-hills of the Alps (Mont du Chat), advanced past Chambery along the valley of the upper Isère. Crossing the Alpes Graiae (Little St. Bernard) he came down into the valley of the Dorea Baltea, by Aosta, and so to the Po. For a full discussion, see Histories and Wickham and Cramer's *Passage of the Alps by Hannibal.* — **inpedita**: by natural obstacles. — **Druentiam**: the Durance. The following description does not apply to its upper portion where Hannibal was.

10. **et ipse**: as well as the Isère and the Rhone.

11. **neque iisdem**, *shifting*, likewise modified by *semper*. — **saxa glareosa**, *stones and gravel*. The meaning is obscure: perhaps the expression is only one of Livy's pictures; perhaps he had *quicksand* in mind. — **tutum**: not *tuti;* see on ch. 20. 7.

12. **imbribus auctus**: cf. ch. 54. 9. — **super cetera**: see on ch. 46. 1. — **incertis clamoribus**: rhetorical amplification of *trepidatione*. The direction of the sounds could not be distinguished.

32. 1. **facturus**: denotes purpose; with *ut* (§ 10) a feigned purpose; *occursurus* (§ 2) denotes circumstance.

2. **praegressos**, *gained so much the start;* expresses the advantage more forcibly than *progressos*, "gone forward." — **videt**: has here the double meaning of physical and mental sight; hence the double construction of the accusative and the accusative with infinitive; so in ch. 33. 9. — **ita**: by returning; it was both safer and easier for him to take ship to Italy, and with the army in Cisalpine Gaul, meet the army of Hannibal, exhausted by the passage of the Alps, than to attempt to follow him through the hostile tribes of Gaul.

3. **ne tamen**: Spain was Hannibal's base of supplies, and Scipio's wisdom in attempting to cut off his communication with it was amply justified by the result. The single army that afterward escaped from Spain and crossed the Alps under Hasdrubal to reinforce Hannibal nearly proved the ruin of Rome. "Had Scipio at this critical juncture not sent his army to Spain, his son would in all probability never have won the battle of Zama." Arnold. — **auxiliis** = *auxilio Romanorum*, not in opposition to *sociis*. The plural with reference to the different states to be occupied, at first north of the Ebro. — **provinciam**: Scipio could not exceed the letter of his instructions which assigned his army to Spain; see ch.

40. 3; 41. 2. — **Hasdrubalem**: Scipio did not know of Hanno's command north of the Ebro; see ch. 23. 2.

4. **socios**: the Grecian towns like Emporiae, whose inhabitants, however, were only *amici*; cf. 34. 9. 10, *sub umbra Romanae amicitiae latebant.*

5. **exiguis**: according to Appian, with a single quinquereme. — **Genuam**: this town, of which nothing is known before this time, was in the hands of the hostile Ligures and could not have been his landing-place. In ch. 39. 3, Livy says he went to Pisa, which is the statement of Polybius and Appian. — **circa**: on the north and south sides, mostly at Cremona and Placentia. — **exercitus**: the two legions originally intended for Gaul, ch. 17. 9, and the one subsequently raised, ch. 26. 2. For the attraction, see on ch. 29. 6.

6. **campestri . . . itinere**: the description, though applicable to the journey along the Rhone (the country of the Allobroges), does not apply to the upper Durance, and is a rhetorical introduction to the account of the terrors of the Alps. — **cum bona pace**: see on ch. 24. 5; similarly 29. 1. 6, *cum bona venia audire.* — **Gallorum**: called by Polybius Allobroges, as also are the *montani* (ch. 32. 8), which Livy avoids to escape a contradiction of ch. 31. 9–12.

7. **prius**: see on ch. 20. 8. — **vero**: abl. with comparative; cf. 25. 24. 9, *maiora vero;* Sall. Jug. 205. 3, *ampliorem vero.* For the thought, see Tac. Agric. 30, *omne ignotum pro magnifico est.* — **ex propinquo**: a common use by Livy of neuter adjectives with a preposition for an adjective or adverb; cf. *ex aperto*, § 10; *de integro*, 22. 5. 7; *ex praeparato*, 22. 41. 1; *ex insperato*, 1. 25. 9; 2. 35. 1. — **nives . . . inmixtae**, *fields of snow almost touching the sky.* A. & G. 75, c.; G. 195, R.; H. 130, 2. *caelo* is dative. — **pecora**: sheep and goats; **iumenta**: horses and cattle. — **torpida**, *benumbed*, perhaps here it implies *stunted;* cf. ch. 40. 9; 55. 8; 56. 7; 58. 9; 22. 53. 6. — **intonsi et inculti**: so in 10. 27. 9, *integer et intactus;* 33. 45. 7, *inmitem et implacabilem*, but usually adjectives compounded with *in* negative are joined by *que* or *atque* or *ac;* cf. ch. 25. 13; 5. 38. 6, *integri intactique.* — **animalia inanimaque**, *animate and inanimate objects alike;* sums up the preceding. — **cetera**: perhaps storms and objects not affected by temperature, rock walls and precipices.

8. **dedissent**: elsewhere *fugam facere*, "to put to flight"; cf.

ch. 5. 16; 1. 56. 4; 8. 9. 12; on the other hand, *stragem dare, edere, facere;* ch. 33. 6; 26. 4. 8 and 6. 10; hence here a zeugma.

9. **visenda**: to avoid the supine; see on ch. 26. 5. — **transitum . . . esse**, *that the pass could not be forced.* — **omnia**, *amid places all craggy and broken;* though a substantive *omnia* has the force of our "all"; especially so used with *per* and *inter* as in ch. 35. 4 and 7; 22. 6. 5; 39. 13. — **potest**: rarely omitted by Livy; cf. ch. 41. 4; 22. 3. 6.

10. **Gallos**: the envoys of the Boii (ch. 29. 6) and perhaps guides from the Allobroges. — **abhorrentis**: from the mountaineers of the same name; cf. 40. 57. 7, *nec enim aut lingua aut moribus abhorrere.* — **dilabi**, *dispersed;* describes a general, quiet break-up, often of soldiers deserting their standard. — **ex aperto**, *openly;* without stratagem; modal, not local. For its use with *interdiu*, cf. *luce palam, nocte clam;* see on ch. 63. 9. By this account Hannibal seems to have lost a whole day, as the Gauls must have returned on the evening before.

11. **simulando**: the gerund, to make clear the gender, as usual with neuter adjectives and pronouns. — **aliud quam**: analogous to expressions with comparatives; so *nihil aliud, quid aliud quam*, cf. 22. 12. 11, also *alius ac* analogous to expressions of likeness and unlikeness.

12. **digressos**: corresponding to *dilabi* (§ 10). — **laxatas**: shows that Livy does not lay stress on *quemque dilabi.*

13. **acerrimo . . . viro**, *all picked men;* appositive to *expeditis.* — **evadit**, *passed the defile;* transitive as in 39. 49. 3, and several times in Livy; cf. Tac. Agr. 33, *silvas evadere;* also used with *ex*, as in 42. 18. 5, or the simple abl. as in ch. 33. 5.

33. 1. **incedere**: implies a certain slowness of movement; cf. ch. 35. 7; 28. 14. 14, *presso gradu;* 2. 6. 7, *magnifice;* 2. 58. 7, *tardius.*

2. **castellis**: on both sides of the *saltus*, but lower than the *arx*, the height which closed the pass. — **alios . . . alios**: the light-armed troops composing the advance guard, and the bulk of the army. — **caput**: collective. — **via**: the road under the cliffs.

3. **utraque . . . res**, *the simultaneous perception;* see on ch. 1. 5. — **oculis animisque**: abl. with *inmobiles*, which is proleptic for *ita defixit ut essent in mobiles;* cf. 22. 53. 6. It is possible to take *oculis animisque* as dative with *obiecta*, in which case the translation would be *the simultaneous effect on eye and mind.* — **misceri** = *turbari.*

4. **consternatis**: see on ch. 11. 13. — **quidquid** = *quantulumcumque, thinking that any fright however slight.* — **diversis**: on both sides; cf. ch. 30. 2. — **in vias**: conjectural for *invia* of the Mss., which must be joined with *adsueti*, as Verg. Aen. 6. 832, *ne tanta animis adsuescite bella;* it is difficult, moreover, to note any important difference between *invia* and *devia; iuxta* = *pariter*, as in 9. 13. 9, *iuxta obsidentes obsessosque inopia vexavit;* 24. 20. 13, *die ac nocte iuxta intentus.* Accustomed to the mountain paths and windings, the enemy easily ran down from the cliffs on both sides of the pass.

5. **ab iniquitate**: the preposition is repeated partly for symmetry, partly from the personification carried out in the verb. — **sibi . . . evaderet**, *all striving, every man for himself, to be the first to escape from the danger.*

6. **infestum . . . faciebant**, *endangered.* — **repercussae**: often used of sound, hence especially with *clamor* and similar words, here of the valleys like our "re-echoing," *resonantes.* — **icti**: either by the missiles of the mountaineers or the unintentional shots of Hannibal's own men.

7. **multos . . . armatos . . . sed . . . iumenta**: the climax of *stragem; multos* refers to camp servants, the mule-drivers. — **utrimque**: the abysmal precipices on either side do not agree with the idea of an enclosed valley implied in *nemora* and *valles* above, but the description is rhetorical. — **ruinae . . . modo**, *like a falling tower.* The *iumenta*, *mules*, in distinction from *equi*, carried very high packs. For *modo*, see on ch. 28. 7.

8. **suos**: the *expediti;* cf. ch. 32. 13. — **tumultum ac trepidationem**: see on ch. 4. 2 and 25. 3, and cf. 22. 55. 6.

9. **agmen**: of the advance movement. — **exutum** = *si exutus esset;* cf. ch. 5. 3. — **decurrit**: strengthened by *ex superiore loco*, because the verb is also used of forming on parade and of manoeuvres in drill; cf. 23. 35. 6; 25. 17. 5. — **impetu ipso**: synonymous with *primo statim impetu, congressu, concursu*, as 1. 25. 4; 4. 33. 1.

10. **momento temporis**: see on ch. 14. 3. — **liberata**, *cleared;* different from the use of the verb in the silver Latin *liberare angustias, flumen,* "to traverse," "pass."

11. **Castellum**: a town of the Allobroges (Pol. 3. 51. 9), perhaps near Chambery. — **cibo**: food in the narrower sense of *cibaria*, or *coctus cibus* (3. 23. 3; 34. 12. 7), in distinction from flesh,

pecora. Polybius says that Hannibal here took a day's rest. — **primo**: the mountaineers afterward renewed their attack; see ch. 34. 6. — **magno opere**: in negative sentences, "particularly," "especially"; cf. 37. 60. 5, *nihil magno opere moverunt;* otherwise "urgently," especially with *suadere, movere, curare*, and the like; cf. 23. 22. 5; 25. 40. 11.

34. 1. **frequentem**, *abounding in;* gives to *populum* the meaning of "canton" or "district," whose fertility is implied by *cultoribus* rather than *incolis.* — **ut**: restrictive; see on ch. 7. 7. — **suis**: see on ch. 4. 9, and cf. 22. 16. 4.

2. **Poenum**: Hannibal; harsh in view of the following *Poenorum.* — **doctos**: so Tac. Agric. 19; after analogy of *usu doctus;* cf. 4. 46. 4; 7. 38. 9. Commonly it means "learned," "shrewd"; *edoctus* is the regular word for taught as in 22. 12. 5; 29. 18. 6; 30. 37. 1, *cladibus.* The corresponding substantive is *documentum;* cf. 3. 50. 8, *aliena calamitate documentum datum.*

3. **fidem**, *guarantee.* Nägelsbach gives six different meanings of *fides*, three subjective and three objective: (a) *belief*, e.g. *facta fide inmortalitatis*, 1. 16. 1; (b) *trustworthiness*, e.g. *quia dubiae fidei videbatur*, 1. 54. 3; (c) *credit, confidence*, e.g. *ubi fides iis non esset*, ch. 35. 4; objective, (d) *guarantee*, e.g. the passage in the text; (e) *credibility*, e.g. *rem ausus plus famae habituram quam fidei*, 2. 10. 11; (f) *pledge*, and that for which a pledge is given, *allegiance*, e.g. *cum fortuna mutaverat fidem*, 22. 22. 6. — **acciperet**: depends on *memorantes*, implying a wish.

4. **nequaquam**: arrange *nequaquam (ita) composito agmine ut inter pacatos (fieri solet).* The usual order in passing through a friendly country was to have the baggage train in the rear. Hannibal now placed it in the middle, putting it between the cavalry and the elephants in front and the infantry behind.

5. **erant**, *formed.* — **robore**: according to Polybius, the heavy armed. — **circumspectans**: cf. 22. 22. 8; Sall. Jug. *circumspectare omnia.*

6. **viam**: Polybius describes the place, 3. 53. 5, περί τι λευκόπτερον ὀχυρόν, which is usually referred to La Roche Blanche at the foot of the Little St. Bernard pass. — **insuper inminenti**: instead of *superinminere;* see on ch. 1. 5. — **barbari**: here first for the previously mentioned *montani, hostes.* — **a fronte . . . eminus . . . de-**

volvunt: the twofold asyndeton corresponds with the confusion of the scene; cf. ch. 27. 2. *petunt*, *attack*, is absolute, a rare use.

7. **accipienda . . . fuerit**: instead of the regular *acies acceptura fuerit* (as 24. 26. 12, *ut si effugium patuisset impleturae urbem fuerint*); why not *accipienda fuisset?* See A. & G. 308, d. and note; G. 599, 5; H. 526, III. 2.

8. **tunc quoque**, *as it was.* — **Hannibal**: the infantry under the command of Hannibal formed the rear guard for the cavalry and the baggage; but Hannibal saw that if they followed the cavalry immediately into the defile, their rear would be exposed to the attack of the mountaineers. While he hesitated, the enemy cut the line. Livy's account is hardly consistent, as in ch. 35. 1 he represents the mountaineers as having gained no point of advantage, but simply as harassing the Carthaginians. Polybius says merely that Hannibal, in order to defend the rear of the cavalry, was obliged to take his station for a night upon a bare rock.

9. **occursantes**: denotes the disorderly, repeated attacks; see on ch. 28. 1. — **interrupto**: as in ch. 33. 1, *perrumpere agmen*, *aciem*; cf. 8. 30. 6; 33. 8. 14. — **Hannibali**: dative of agent, common with perf. pass. partic. of passive verbs, and their compound tenses; joined by Livy even with the present; cf. 22. 34. 8.

35. 1. **intercursantibus**: first used in prose by Livy; so in 35. 5. 10, *interequitare*; 36. 28. 4, *interfari* after Vergil; 22. 30. 6, *interiungere.* The substantive *intercursus* in ch. 46. 7 is also first used by Livy. — **pernicie**: stronger than *damno*, *detrimento*, implies that the animals were killed or rendered unserviceable. The loss was exclusive of those mentioned in § 5 as saved.

2. **inde**, *from then on.* — **latrocinii**: i.e. by picking off stragglers and watching opportunities for descents upon the baggage. Often used by Livy in opposition to *bellum*, as 2. 48. 5, *neque pax neque bellum . . . res proxime formam latrocinii venerat.* — **daret**: iterative subj.; so *fecissent*, and *incederent*, § 3; see on ch. 28. 10. — **progressi**: sc. *longius.* — **fecissent**: merely to vary *daret* (other writers use *offerre*, *praebere*); so *occasionem* after *opportunitatem.*

3. **sicut . . . ita**: see on ch. 7. 6. — **praecipites vias**: forming one idea; hence the adjective precedes, and *artas* is prefixed without conjunction, "narrow defiles." — **insuetis**: absolute; *adeundi* is to be joined with *metus.*

4. **in iugum . . . perventum est**, *the summit was reached;* the impersonal passive, common where the act rather than the actor is emphasized, is here appropriate because the logical subject includes general, soldiers, and animals; cf. ch. 34. 1; 36. 1; 38. 1. On the other hand, *pervenit* (ch. 32. 6) is used of the unobstructed march through the plain. — **per . . . errores**, *through places mostly pathless and with many wanderings;* with *pleraque*, which perhaps is to be taken with *errores*, cf. *omnia*, ch. 32. 9, and § 7, and note the double meaning of *per*. — **ducentium**: those of ch. 34. 3; usually *dux, ductor itineris*. — **initae**: see on *amissae*, ch. 1. 5. The valleys seemed to open favorably, but ended in impassable cliffs.

6. **fessis taedio**: courage affects the physical condition, and *vice versa; fessis* has a different meaning in § 5 and ch. 11. 3. — **casus**: here the simple verbal from *cadere;* similarly 37. 32. 4, *casus murorum = ruina;* Lucretius, 5. 206, *assiduus geli casus*. — **occidente . . . Vergiliarum**, *as it was about the time of the setting of the Pleiades.* According to Pliny, N. H. 2. 47. 125, this occurred about the 26th of October, but the fact that the first snow-fall in the Little St. Bernard usually occurs a month earlier, and a consideration of the time required for the events that occurred before the battle on the Trebia, seem to show that Hannibal crossed the Alps toward the last of September. — **Vergiliarum**: derived by the ancients from *ver, quia eorum ortu ver finitur.* Their setting marked the beginning of the winter season and the close of navigation.

7. **signis . . . motis**: not used by Caesar, who writes *castra movere* or *signa ferre;* cf. 22. 36. 6; 38. 6. — **pigritia**, *despondency.* — **emineret**, *was depicted;* the preposition in the verb has lost its force, hence *in* with *vultu;* absolute in 42. 62. 2, *Thracum insolens laetitia eminebat;* the older prose was more exact. Cic. in Verr. 5. 62. 161, has *ex ore eminebat.*

8. **promunturio**: from *prominere*, etymologically *promenturium*, but already incorrectly given by the Romans *promunturium*, as if derived from *mons*. Much labor has been unsuccessfully spent in trying to identify this place. The whole account is a rhetorical flourish. There is no place in the Little St. Bernard or on Mount Genévre where the plains of the Po, much less Rome, are visible. The lower Alpine valleys were in sight, and these were sufficient as a promise of future good.

9. **moenia**: Cato in the *Origines* says that the Alps protect Italy *muri vice*, and Polybius compares them to an acropolis. — **tum**: the line of the *oratio recta*. — **transcendere**: depends on *ostentat* as a verb of saying: cf. *videt*. ch. 32. 2. — **plana. proclivia**: only of the country, which he thought would offer no more serious difficulties: not figuratively "easy," since Hannibal could not represent the struggle easy in comparison with that with the mountaineers, and in figurative meaning *expeditus, pronus* (*virtuti*) would have been used. — **summum**, *at most*: often to avoid the ambiguous *ad summum*. — **altero**, *in two*. — **arcem et caput**: synonymous repetition for Rome: cf. 22. 32. 5; *arx urbis* (of the capitol), 22. 37. 12.

10. **furta**, *surprises*.

11. **multo**: separated unusually far from its comparative, owing to the enclosing of one comparative clause within another. — **ab Italia**, *on the side of Italy*.

12. **praeceps**: co-ordinate with *angusta* and *lubrica*, not as in § 3; *lubrica* is last, giving the main reason for the following clause. — **sustinere se a lapsu**, *keep themselves from slipping*; construed like *verbo defendendi*: *qui . . . titubassent* repeats the idea. — **nec . . . occiderent**, *nor could those, who slipped and fell, keep their position, but rolled one upon another, and the cattle upon the men*; *vestigio*, abl., to be joined with *haerere*. For *alii*, see on 22. 6. 5. The reading *iumenta in homines* is very harsh, following *aliique super alios*. A comparison with 22. 6. 5, *armaque et viri super alium alii*, suggests *et* for *in*, so as to read *et iumenta et homines*.

36. 1. **ventum**: the road which up to this point had been quite narrow (ch. 34. 6) became so much more contracted, and the rocky sides so steep (*rectis*), that a soldier, though unencumbered with baggage, could scarcely work his way down by feeling his way (*temptabundus*), and by grasping the bushes. Livy's story that the road was broken by a chasm 1000 feet in depth is absurd, considering the time and means taken to get over it (see ch. 37. 2), and probably arose from a misapprehension of Polybius' statement, that for 900 feet in length the road had been rendered impracticable by a landslide for the elephants and beasts of burden. — **rectis saxis**: ablative of quality, joined by *atque* to *angustiorem* to avoid a repetition of *praeceps*: *rectus* is rare in this sense, as also *arrectus* in ch. 35. 11. — **temptabundus**: many adjectives in *bundus*, like *cunc-*

tabundus, deliberabundus, mirabundus, peregrinabundus, concionabundus, are found first in Livy, or only in him. — **circa**: *round about;* see on ch. 7. 5, and cf. §§ 4 and 7, and *infra*, § 6.

2. **admodum**: like our "quite" and "fully," either prepositive or postpositive; cf. 22. 24. 14.

3. **constitisset**: verbs of going and standing often lose their original meaning, and are transferred to riding, flying, and navigation as general verbs of motion and rest; cf. 25. 41. 6, *Numidae cum quieti stetissent.* Most commonly *progressus, praegressus, ingressus, transgressus* are used of horsemen instead of compounds of *vehi*, but also *praecedere*, 22. 51. 2; *ire*, 22. 2. 4; even *vadere*, 30. 12. 10; *transcendere* of ships, ch. 44. 7. — **miranti**: this verb, followed by an interrogative clause, often has the meaning of "not understand," "think strange," "express surprise," or "ask with surprise." Fr. — **digressus**: the omission of *est* here and with *visa* is harsh. One would have expected *digreditur* or *digresso ipsi*, with which *circumduceret* would easily join.

4. **haud dubia res**: the same phrase in ch. 3. 1. — **circumduceret**: the subjunctive often expresses what one is obliged to do. — **inexsuperabilis**: see on ch. 23. 4.

5. **veterem**: Livy's description implies a glacier. There is none in the pass, but there is a deep ravine into which fall the avalanches from the Cramont, and where sometimes the snow lies unmelted during the whole summer. This is on the left bank of La Thuile, where once was a road, now transferred to the right bank to avoid the avalanches. — **intactam** = *integram*, hardened or frozen, the accumulations of years.

6. **tabem**, *slush.*

7. **non recipiente . . . fallente**: the ice gave no foothold, and on an incline the foot slipped more quickly than on a level. — **adiuvissent**: the subjunctive is iterative with *seu;* see on ch. 28. 10; it it is also attracted to *corruerent.* — **adminiculis**: hands and knees. — **prolapsis**: the abl. abs. with the perf. partic. of deponents is commonly found only with the intransitives of motion (compounds of *gradior, labor, sequor,* and *proficiscor*), and of growth and decay (*nascor, orior, morior, defungor*); very rarely with the transitives; cf. ch. 61. 5; 4. 55. 4, *dilapsis militibus;* 3. 42. 3, *persecutis hostibus;* but 23. 26. 2, *Scipionibus partitis copias.* — **ita . . . volutabantur,**

thus (summing up the preceding) *they floundered on the glare ice and in the melting snow. Tantum* refers to the lack of *stirpes* and *radices.*

8. **infimam**: the comparative would have been more exact, as only the old and the new snow are mentioned. *nivem* is the object of *secabant*, and *ingredientia* absolute, "as they trod upon it." — **conitendo**: indicates the desperate struggle to get upon their feet; cf. Cic. De Fin. 5. 15. 42, *conituntur ut sese erigant.* — **alte**: the snow was hardened to the very ground.

37. 1. **iumentis**: placed before *hominibus* because the animals were last mentioned, and because the preservation of the Numidian horses and the transport of the baggage were of special importance. Losses of men Hannibal could hope to supply from the Gauls. — **iugo**: a lower ridge than the *iugum Alpium* in ch. 35. 4. — **tantum**: see on *adeo*, ch. 7. 3.

2. **rupem muniendam**, *to make the cliff passable;* a new expression for *viam munire, iter per rupem munire;* cf. Tac. Agr. 31, *silvis ac paludibus emuniendis.* The expression is better adapted to Polybius' account than to Livy's. — **esse poterat**, *was possible.* — **caedendum**: the following account is probably from Coelius. Polybius merely says that Hannibal made the road wider for the passage of the beasts. — **inmanibus**: rare in Livy, and elsewhere only of living things; cf. 26. 19. 7, *anguis;* 29. 17. 12, *belua;* 38. 37. 3, *barbari.* It is difficult to see where the trees came from in a country that produced only *virgulta ac stirpes*, ch. 36. 1; cf. ch. 36. 7. — **deiectis**: as 9. 2. 9, *deiectu arborum ingentium;* oftener *caedere*, cf. ch. 27. 5; 33. 5. 6; here avoided on account of *caedendum.* — **vis venti**, *a strong wind;* cf. ch. 58. 9, *tanta vis frigoris.* There is no Latin adjective exactly corresponding to *vis*, since *violens* and *violentus* are more restricted in use. — **aceto**: vinegar or sour wine was carried by the soldiers as a drink, but that the quantity should have been sufficient, even when mixed with water, as Appian says, to affect a cliff of such size, is fabulous. Yet the use of vinegar by the ancients for this purpose (Pliny, N. H. 33. 71, *silices igne et aceto rumpunt*) was perhaps the ground for this tradition. — **putrefaciunt**, *crumble;* figuratively for *mollire, solvere* or *rumpere.*

3. **ferro**: Appian says with iron hammers. — **molliunt . . . clivos**, *they make the descents easier by moderate zigzags;* cf. Caesar, B. G. 7. 46, *circuitus ad molliendum clivum*, and *ambitus*, ch. 36. 4.

— **clivos**, *descents*, (see ch. 32. 8); lower than *tumulus*. It is here used in its etymological sense as derived from κλίνειν, *clinare;* cf. *declivis*, *proclivis*. Livy here has in mind the great avalanche.

4. **iumentis . . . absumptis**: abl. abs. of accompanying circumstance; cf. 22. 41. 2. Polybius says that the horses and smaller animals were taken over in one day, the elephants only remaining three days and nearly perishing of hunger. — **cacumina**: usually with an added *montium*, *Alpium*. — **si quid**, *and what little there was*. In translating join *pabuli* with *nuda*. — **nives**, *deep snows;* cf. ch. 32. 7.

5. **inferiora**: places between *cacumina* and *planum*, § 6. Like *planum*, used substantively. — **apricosque colles**, *sunny knolls;* often with the idea of fertility in opposition to *mons*. On the summit there was a scarcity of food and water; here was a place for pasture, with brooks, and woods near by. *Prope* is the preposition.

6. **in pabulum**: not *pabulatum*, which is used of soldiers; cf. 25. 34. 4. — **iam**: implies the progressive improvement, in connection with the comparative *mollioribus;* cf. ch. 35. 2; 60. 4.

38. A critical excursus, like that of ch. 15. 3, which a modern writer would have put in a footnote. In such matters of detail as those here given, Livy often refers to the other writers than the two (Polybius and Coelius) who here form his chief authorities.

1. **hoc maxime modo**, *in this way for the most part;* often used of statements given in outline, as 25. 31. 11; 28. 16. 14; 30. 10. 19. — **quinto mense**: Hannibal gathered his army in early spring (ch. 21. 8), set out in April or May (Pol. 5. 1. 5), and reached Italy in September or October; cf. ch. 35. 6. Appian, Hann. 4, says scarcely six months. — **ut . . . sunt**: postpositive, as § 4. — **quinto decimo die**: so Polybius. Livy's account makes nineteen: nine to the summit, two there of rest (ch. 35. 5), one of wandering through the snow (ch. 36), four at the cliff (ch. 37. 4), and three from the cliff to the plain (ch. 37. 6), but perhaps the four days at the cliff include the day of wandering, and the last three are not reckoned in the passage.

2. **qui minimum**; Polybius gives the number as 12,000 African infantry, about 8000 Spaniards, and 6000 cavalry, according to Hannibal's tablet at Lacinium; see on ch. 21. 11. He also gives

the number crossing the Pyrenees as 50,000 infantry and 9000 horse, on leaving the Rhone as 38,000 infantry and 8000 horse.

3. **Cincius**: praetor, 211 B.C. He wrote in Greek a history of Rome from its foundation to his own times. — **moveret**: absolute, *would be a conclusive authority*; yet in § 6 Livy says *miror*, not objectively *mirandum*.

4. **decem**: the number Hannibal had at the Trebia; see ch. 55. 2. — **adducta**: sc. *esse*. Cincius seems to have supposed that these peoples came over the Alps with Hannibal, whereas they flocked to him (*adfluxisse*) after he reached the valley of the Po. — **Italia**: this name was not applied to Cisalpine Gaul till about the end of the republic. Join *magis* with *verisimile*.

5. **audisse**: sc. *se*; with *amisisse* sc. *eum*. — **postquam** = *ex quo* connecting with *amisisse*. — **Taurini Semigalli**: formed after the analogy of *semigermanis* (§ 8), and supported by the fact that Strabo and Pliny reckon the Taurini with the Ligurians, though Appian, Hann. 5, calls their chief town, Taurasia, πόλις Κελτική. The Gauls in their migration under Bellovesus passed through the country of the Tricastini and the Taurini to Italy (see 5. 34. 8), and a later company took the same route; see 5. 35. 1.

6. **omnes**: on the contrary Polybius expressly says that Hannibal came down among the Insubrians, who were then at war with the Taurini. Hannibal invited the Taurini to become his allies, and on their refusal attacked and captured their chief city, thus inspiring all the Celts with eagerness to join him; see ch. 39. 4. — **credere**: the change from passive to active is noticeable in Livy. — **Poenino**: sc. *monte* or *iugo*, abl. of road by which (see on ch. 22. 5), the Great St. Bernard. This fanciful derivation was then current at Rome. Pliny, N. H. 3. 17. 123, *Alpes Peninas . . . his Poenos transisse memorant*.

7. **Cremonis**: the name cannot be identified, though an unsuccessful attempt has been made to identify it with Cramont, in the neighborhood of the Little St. Bernard. Coelius would then agree with Polybius. — **Salassos**: this tribe, living on the modern Dorea Baltea, was afterward noted for its brave struggle for independence. It was finally subdued under Augustus when 42,000 of its number were sold into slavery. — **Montanos**: see Plin. N. H. 3. 134, *Vagienni Ligures et qui Montani vocantur*. — **Libuos**: a people south

of the Salassi, along the Po, whose original home, according to Livy, 5. 35. 2, was on Lacus Benacus (Lago di Garda); cf. 33. 37. 6.

8. **ea tum**: yet in 5. 35. 2 Livy represents the Gauls as entering Italy by this pass. A road was first made over it by Augustus. — **utique**: see on ch. 29. 7.

9. **hercule**: often in Livy to give confirmation, in speeches also *hercules*, as 28. 44. 12. — **montibus his**: the chain from the Great St. Bernard to the St. Gotthard. *Juppiter Poeninus* was worshipped on the summit, and his name has been found on votive tablets discovered near the top. — **Seduni Veragri**: regarded by Livy as one people (cf. ch. 25. 14), but according to Caesar, B. G. 3. 1, two peoples living near Martigny in the Canton Wallis. — **norint**: a softened indicative with an ironical turn, "nor will they be found to have known." — **ab eo**: *deus* is purposely avoided since Poeninus might be only a hero. — **Poeninum**: named after the Ἄλπεις Ποιναί (Ptolem. 3. 1. 1), hence the spelling *Penninae* is incorrect.

39–48. Cavalry skirmish on the Ticinus and its results.

39. 1. **ad . . . rerum**, *for the opening of the war*, in Italy. — **Insubres**: Gauls, apparently long at enmity with the Taurini because they were Ligurians or a mixed race; see on ch. 38. 5. — **armare**: not as usual, "to provide with arms" (though in ch. 40. 9, Scipio speaks of *fracta arma*), or "to take arms," but "to prepare for service." — **alteri**: the Insubrians, who had already revolted against the Romans, see ch. 25. 2; not *alteri utri*, which would have implied that Hannibal had the choice. — **reficiendo**: as an abstract noun, *in recruiting*; cf. 37. 10. 10, *subducturum per simulationem reficiendi quasdam naves*. Caesar, B. G. 1. 48. 7.

2. **copia**: food; cf. 22. 39. 14. — **cultus**, *comfort;* including care of the body, bathing, clothes. — **inluvie**, *filth*. — **tabe**: not wasting, which would refer to *inopia*, but *drenched clothes* (cf. ch. 36. 6), in opposition to warmer clothing. — **squalida**: of clothes; cf. ch. 40. 9. — **efferata**: especially of the hair; cf. 2. 23. 3. — **varie**: some were cured, some were made sick.

3. **Pisas**: see on ch. 32. 5. — **exercitu**: see ch. 25. 8; 26. 2. — **ignominiis**: the two defeats of Manlius; see ch. 25. 8 f. The newly recruited army had lost its morale; see on ch. 28. 11. — **festinandi**: as in ch. 41. 4. Scipio's rapidity is praised, but in fact he came too

iate to prevent Hannibal's assuming the offensive, and thereby lost his advantage; see ch. 44. 3.

4. **cum . . . venit**: mere determination of time. Scipio probably came by way of Felsina and Mutina. — **urbem**, *Taurasia*, afterward a military colony of Augustus, *Augusta Taurinorum*, now Turin. — **volens**, *free will;* like *voluntas* (§ 5), the standing opposition to *vis;* cf. ch. 58. 2; 22. 27. 9; 34. 31. 9, *urbem volentem non vi coactam accepi.* — **vi**: Appian says as an example.

5. **iunxisset**, *would have brought over to his side; conciliare* would have been inappropriate with *metu.* — **metu**: of his threats. — **voluntate**: see § 4 and cf. 31. 33. 5, *oppida partim voluntate, partim metu se tradebant.* — **circumspectantis**: temporal, at the very moment when.

6. **quae** = *utra;* cf. 22. 23. 6. — **praesentem**: the one who was near, either Hannibal or Scipio.

7. **convenerant**: in a hostile sense, different from *in unum convenire*, a friendly agreement; cf. 4. 43. 11; or *in unum coire*, 25. 35. 6; see on ch. 31. 4. — **sicuti . . . ita**: see on 7. 6.

8. **et apud Romanos**: among the Romans as well as the Carthaginians and the Spaniards. The *et* is not correlative with that before *Scipionem.* Two grounds are given for the mutual esteem, arranged in pairs in the two sentences. As Capes says, this is an afterthought of history. Hannibal was little known, and Roman consuls, except in extraordinary cases, were not chosen on account of their military abilities. — **lectus**: cf. 1. 54. 2, *dux belli legitur;* 28. 42. 5; also *deligere*, 29. 20. 2.

9. **auxerant inter se**, *each had increased the other's esteem for himself; inter se*, as often, for *sibi inter se.* — **relictus**: though Hannibal had outgeneraled Scipio in Gaul, yet Scipio was in front of Hannibal in Italy. — **conatu**: Pliny, N. H. 36. 2, *in portento prope maiores habuere Alpes ab Hannibale superatas.*

10. **occupavit . . . traicere** = *prior traiecit; tamen* contains a covert reproach, that he was dilatory, though he did cross the Po. — **educeret**: with *in aciem* always the compound; cf. ch. 40. 1; 60. 5; 26. 11. 1; 29. 2. 5; so *in proelium*, 37. 16. 11. — **orationem**: the speeches of Scipio and Hannibal are further illustrations of Livy's rhetorical power. The generals may have addressed their soldiers, though no speeches are given before the battles of the Trebia,

Lake Trasumennus, or Cannae. The circumstances naturally suggested their lines of thought, but the arrangement and rhetorical finish are Livy's, who allows the reader from the tone of the speeches to anticipate the actual result. Note the points indicated in the note on ch. 16. 2. Scipio's argument is as follows: ch. 40. 1–4. Introduction: propriety of an address from a new general. §§ 5–11. The weakness of the enemy. (*a*) They were conquered in a previous war (5–6); (*b*) their numbers are diminished and their strength broken by the passage of the Alps (7–10): the gods are their enemies (11). Ch. 41. 1–13. Reasons for confidence. (*a*) The occurrences of the war thus far show Roman courage and Carthaginian cowardice (1–5): (*b*) the defeat of Hannibal's father, Hamilcar (6–9); (*c*) Carthaginian ingratitude and Roman clemency will incite them (10–13). §§ 14–17. The greatness of the stake, the existence of Rome, will give them courage.

40. 1. **supersedissem**: with infinitive like *desinere* or *omittere*. Writers before Livy use it only with the ablative or absolutely. — **apud vos**: as if the condition had been, "if you were the troops," etc.

2. **eos**: here scarcely more than the definite article, since the following subjunctive clause implies the feeling of the cavalry in distinction from the speaker's own act in [illegible]. *eos* is different. The exaggeration in the case of *equitatus*, [illegible], is noticeable, as it is in many other cases, e.g., [illegible] in ch. 29. 3. — **secutus**: not *persecutus*, as he did not overtake Hannibal. — **confessionem**: Hannibal's retreat and refusal to fight were an acknowledgment of victory. — **cedentis**: less exact (ch. 41. 4), to vary *fugientis*; cf. ch. 52. 11.

3. **nunc**: see on ch. 13. 2. — **cum**: see on ch. [illegible]. 3: a word implying the equality of republican civic rights. — **meis auspiciis**: the right of taking the auspices, *ius auspiciorum*, belonged to the commander-in-chief. His *legati* took them in his name, so that though absent from the field he took the credit of success. The *legati* had *ductus*, but not *auspicium*. Under the empire the *auspicium* belonged only to the emperor. The position of the words betrays the pride of the speaker. — **eum**: the army. — **populusque**: the people had no voice in assigning the provinces (see on ch. 17. 1). They chose the consuls, and thus may be said to have had their part.

4. **ego.** *while I*; opposed to *exercitus.* — **apud**: cf. § 1, and ch 41. 17. — **novos milites**: not inexperienced (cf. ch 39. 3) but new to the general as shown by the use of *novo*; cf. also ch. 43. 14 and § 5. *novis*.

5. **ne**: indicates, as often, the reason for making the statement. — **cum iis**: brachylogy, "remember that you." — **vicistis**: more exactly of their fathers. — **viginti**: the period named in the preliminaries of Catulus for the payment of the indemnity, afterward reduced to ten. — **exegistis**: not merely "demanded," but "exacted." — **belli praemia**: not applicable to Sardinia; see on ch. 1. 5.

7. **nisi**: ironical: see on 22. 59. 10. — **incolumi**: this was not true of Hannibal's army after the passage of the Rhone. — **duabus partibus.** *two-thirds*; cf. 22. 24. 4; 41. 5. Scipio could have had no definite knowledge of the original strength of Hannibal's army or of his losses on the march, and he purposely omits any reference to the additions of Gauls.

8. **At enim**: see on ch. 18. 9. — **robora**: not moral vigor corresponding to *animis*, but, like *vires*, referring to physical strength; see on ch. 1. 2; cf. 25. 21. 7; 33. 6. — **sustinere**: not to say repel.

9. **immo.** *nay rather*: observe the arrangement of this sentence; the chiasmus *enecti . . . contusi*, and others; the alliteration *fame frigore*, and the four like endings in "e" and "a." — **umbrae hominum.** *phantoms*; in reference to *enecti*. — **squalore**: see on ch. 30. 2; 22. [illegible]. 15. — **praeusti artus.** *frost-bitten joints*; fingers and toes. — **nervi.** *muscles*; so that they could not grasp their weapons. — **membra**: all parts of the body.

10. **hoc.** *such*. — **vos**: the pronoun is expressed in emphatic antithesis to *Alpes*.

11. **foederum ruptore.** *treaty-breaking*; the verbal noun in *or* is often used attributively like an adjective to denote a characteristic; e.g. [illegible]; [illegible], ch. 6. 4; *domitor exercitus*, 28. 19. 15; [illegible], 27. 16. 14. Livy was the first to apply this word to Hannibal, which fastened upon him as a life-long stain for this single act. — **populo**: since it had not disavowed the acts of Hannibal and its leaders. — **secundum**: in its proper meaning of "next to."

41. 1. **vestri**: this form being in its origin the neuter singular takes the gerundive of the same form. A. & G. 298, a.; G. 429, R. 1; H. 542. 1, n. 1. — **ipsum**: parataxis; we say "while."

2. **licuit**: sc. *mihi;* the indicative as commonly in expressions of duty, obligation, propriety, etc. A. & G. 311, c.; G. 599, 3; H. 511, n. 3. — **potius**: carries on the idea of Scipio's free choice. He did not yet know of Hanno.

3. **ad famam**, *at the mere report;* like *verbis*, "with mere words."

4. **qua parte**: synesis, as if *equitum* had preceded; see on ch. 17. 8. — **fudi**: the battle was under his auspices; see on ch. 40. 3. — **modum**: see on ch. 28. 7. — **terra**: ablative of way; see on ch. 22. 5. — **regressus**: a participle corresponding to *in terram egressus* in § 3; in the common reading (*neque regressus ad navis erat*) it is a verbal noun, as in 24. 26. 15. — **maxime**: so in 9. 10. 10; 10. 40. 8; 36. 44. 4. Madvig reads *quanta* (= *quam*) *maxima*, as in 22. 3. 6; 30. 25. 8; 42. 15. 1, in accordance with Livy's usual custom of writing the adjective *maximus*, instead of the adverb *maxime* with *quantus*. — **tanto . . . circuitu**: applies better to the route by Pisa than by Genua; see ch. 39. 3. — **timendo**: ironical, as appears from *fugientium*. — **obvius fui**: leaves it indeterminate whether the meeting was accidental or intentional, i.e., *incidere* or *occurrere*, the question of the next clause; cf. ch. 46. 3, *obvius fit*.

5. **cum . . . certamen**: not temporal, "when I" (cf. ch. 40. 2 and 7), but antithetic, *while declining an engagement*, = *invitus*, i.e., have unwillingly and unexpectedly met him; with *incidisse* sc. *in eum;* with *occurrere* sc. *ei*. — **inprovidus**: like one caught by a stratagem; cf. ch. 55. 9; 5. 45. 3. — **occurrere in vestigiis**: instead of the common *vestigiis sequi*, *instare*, which were not suited to Scipio's case. — **lacessere ac trahere**: cf. ch. 54. 4; 22. 15. 7.

6. **terra**: Scipio forgets the Spaniards in Hannibal's army. — **iidem**: equally cowardly. — **denariis**: the denarius (ten asses) was first coined in 268 B.C. at $\frac{1}{72}$ of a Roman pound. In 217 it was reduced to $\frac{1}{84}$. On one side was a figure of a two or four-horse chariot; hence the coins were called *bigati* and *quadrigati* (22. 52. 3). The eighteen denarii were worth about $3.50. This ransom is not mentioned elsewhere. — **aestimatos**: like prisoners, since they had lost hope of succor. — **emisistis**: as if it were an act of grace; cf. § 12.

7. **Herculis**: the myth reported Hercules (*Graius*) as crossing the Alps after he had stolen the cattle of Geryon, hence the false derivation of the name *Alpes Graiae*: see 5. 34. 6; Nepos, Hann. 3. — **fert** = *prae se fert*, *gives out*. — **vectigalis**: one who paid a tax in kind, usually one-tenth. — **stipendiarius**: one who paid a fixed money tax. The two taxes together implied slavery, *servitus*. It is an exaggeration, as in 22. 54. 11, since the Carthaginians paid only the money tax, and that only for ten years. The tenths were exacted from the Sicilian communities taken from the Carthaginians.

8. **si non**: oftener *etsi non*; see on 22. 54. 6. — **certe**: synonymous with *at certe* or *saltem*. — **foedera**: only the preliminaries. — **scripta**, *subscribed*; note the repetition of *qui* without a conjunction.

9. **deduxit**: so commonly with *praesidium*; not *abducere*, as garrisons as a rule occupied elevated places. — **fremens**, etc.: so Hannibal is said to have left Italy; cf. 30. 20. 9, *deos hominesque accusantem in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput exsecratum . . . haec accusans querensque ex diutina possessione Italiae est detractus*. — **pactus est**, *bound himself*; to an adverse condition, as shown by *graves*; oftener construed with *ut*, as 22. 52. 3; 25. 33. 3.

11. **Erycem**: the mountain which, steep and comparatively isolated, formed a natural fortress. — **humanorum**: not a neuter substantive; sc. *suppliciorum*.

12. **emisimus**: see § 6. — **tutelae**: predicate possessive genitive sc. *eos*; cf. ch. 44. 5. The Romans allowed the Carthaginians to enlist mercenaries in Italy, and also furnished them with some supplies, but the speaker judiciously keeps silence on other points; see on ch. 1. 5. For *Africo bello* see on ch. 1. 5.

13. **Pro . . . inpertitis**, *in return for these favors*; like a substantive; cf. *sperata*, ch. 45. 9. — **furiosum**: see on ch. 10. 11. — **oppugnatum patriam**: Livy often uses a supine with an object where Cicero uses the gerundive; cf. 28. 39. 13 and 21, *Italiam spectatum ire* and *gratias actum misit*; 28. 41. 2 and 9. — **atque utinam**: so in 22. 60. 8. — **decore**, *honor*; from *decus*, since *decor* never means *gloria*; cf. Tac. Agr. 26, *securi pro salute de gloria certabant*.

14. **Pro Italia**, *for Italy*, whose possession is to be maintained by arms; *pugnare de aliqua re*, of that which is to be acquired. Cf. the title of Cicero's speech, *de imperio Cn. Pompeii* (*pro lege Mani-*

tia), and *de domo sua* (*aedificanda*), wrongly called *pro domo.* *de* here has reference to the time of the first Punic war.

15. **ab tergo**: see on ch. 27. 1. — **obsistat**: preferred by Livy to *resistere* (Caesar), and used absolutely and with the dative; cf. ch. 7. 7. — **obstandum**: indicates the holding of a position once taken more strongly than *obsistere*, which implies motion (*occurrere* is to advance to meet). — **velut si**: cf. ch. 8. 6. — **Romana moenia**: especially in elevated style; again in ch. 30. 11.

16. **corpus suum**, *himself; corpus* and *animus* are often used where we employ "I," "self," with reference to physical or mental abilities; cf. ch. 31. 1; 11. 4, and see on ch. 13. 9. — **domesticas** = *privatas;* the antithesis is in *populum Romanum.*

17. **nostra**: emphatic chiasmus to *illius urbis*, which was spoken with a gesture toward Rome. — **vis virtusque**: oftener *vis ac virtus;* cf. 22. 5. 2; 25. 23. 1; 26. 39. 11.

42. 1. **rebus**: in opposition to *verbis;* also in 28. 40. 11; 29. 22. 1; oftener *re*, as in ch. 18. 4; 22. 39. 7; 35. 46. 6. The plural is here necessary because Livy speaks of several combats. Polybius mentions only one. — **decertare**: for life and death. It was a Gallic custom for an individual before a battle to challenge an enemy to mortal combat; see 7. 26. 1.

2. **ferrum pugnamque**, *the decision of the sword.* — **deiecta**: perhaps into a helmet, corresponding to *exciderat*, yet the singular *sors* refers collectively to the casting of the lots. — **in id**: *for determining.*

3. **cuiusque** = *et cuius.* — **sui moris**: see on ch. 28. 1; cf. 23. 26. 9, *tripudiantes more suo.*

4. **dimicarent**: iterative subjunctive; see on ch. 4. 4. — **eiusdem . . . condicionis**: fellow-prisoners. — **spectantes**: the participle of temporary, single occurrences, different from the verbal substantive; cf. 24. 34. 2, *Archimedes unicus spectator caeli siderumque;* cf. *legentes* and *lector*, and without appreciable difference, *scribentes* in ch. 57. 14, and *scriptores* in ch. 1. 1. Näg. § 54. 5. — **non . . . magis quam**: throws the emphasis on the second member. — **bene**, *bravely.*

43. 1. **sic . . . adfectos**: sc. *ut . . . laudarent.* — **dimisisset**: the arrangement of soldiers at the *contio* was different from that during the combats. In Polybius the speech immediately follows the combats. — **locutus**: the arrangement of the speech is as follows:

(*a*) the conflict inevitable (2–4); (*b*) its rewards (5–10); (*c*) it will not be difficult, owing to the character of the two armies and the two generals (11–18); (*d*) the Carthaginians have greater courage as the attacking party, and their courage will be increased by recalling the insults of the Romans (44. 1–7); (*e*) the necessities of their situation inspire courage (8–9).

3. **nescio an**, *perhaps*. — **maiora**, *stronger*; cf. its use with *vox* (*loud*). 8. 9. 4; *agmina*, 22. 50. 8; *fletus*, 22. 61. 3; *vinculum*, 23. 4. 8; *argumentum* (*convincing*), 26. 31. 6; *amicitia*, Cic. pro Mur. 4. 8. Näg. 70. 2.

4. **dextra**: ablative. — **claudunt**, *form a barrier;* absolute; cf. 22. 5. 6; 36. 18. 4; 37. 27. 7. — **navem**: not even one boat, much less a fleet. — **habentibus**: dative of reference; sc. *vobis*, which precedes and follows. — **circa**: often denotes, not an enclosing on all sides, but on more than one side; see on ch. 25. 2; cf. 26. 2; 22. 47. 8. *circa* is thus more than *contra* = *ex adverso*, *a fronte*, 22. 5. 6. According to Polybius, 2. 16, the Po first flows toward the south, then makes a bend, so that it was on the south and west of Hannibal. Sc. *est*, not *claudit* or *urget*. — **maior Padus**: rhetorical for *usque maior*. Vergil, Geor. 1. 482, calls it *fluviorum rex*. — **integris**: before your numbers were diminished or your health injured; see ch. 39. 1; for dative, see on ch. 34. 9.

6. **nostra virtute**: the adjective comes first from the opposition to *parentibus*, but *parentibus nostris* because the emphasis lies in the noun. — **pretia**: to change with *praemia*. — **nunc**: see on ch. 13. 2. — **quidquid . . . partum**: not merely Rome, but all the Roman possessions.

7. In. *fin*. — **agite dum**: with an imperative plural of the second person six times in the first decade; less often *agedum* with a following plural; cf. 2. 29. 11; 38. 47. 11. — **dis bene iuvantibus**: see on ch. 21. 6.

8. **Satis adhuc**, *long enough;* opposed to *iam*, § 9. — **vastis**, *wild;* not simply of local extent; cf. 3. 52. 5. Sall. Jug. 48. 3. *mons vastus ab natura et humano cultu*. The presence in Hannibal's army of Lusitanian soldiers (ch. 57. 5) does not necessarily imply that the Carthaginian power was supreme in that country. — **pecora consectando**, *in the pursuit of wandering cattle*, in order to bring them back to the herds; cf. 40. 27. 12, *pecorum modo fugientes per saltus*

invios consectati. The *velocitas* of the Celtiberians was celebrated, see 22. 18. 2; 28. 2. 7. The ablative of the gerund often denotes way or manner. A. & G. 301; G. 432; H. 542, IV, n. 2.

9. **tempus est**. with inf., as in ch. 54. 2, or with accus. and inf., "it is high time"; but with the gen. of the gerund *tempus* usually means "occasion," "opportunity." The distinction is not strictly maintained, and the gerund is generally avoided when a doubt as to the gender or a disagreeable assonance would arise; thus 25. 32. 3, *id agi* instead of *eius agendi;* 6. 18. 12, *maiora conari* for both reasons. A. & G. 298, n.; G. 429, 3; H. 533, n. 3.

10. **mercedem**: Livy perhaps thought of the assignment of lands to the veterans of Augustus in his own time, and makes Hannibal suggest this as a reward to his soldiers; see ch. 45. 5. — **dedit . . . dabit**: repetition to strengthen the *anaphora.* — **dignam**: when your campaigns are over.

11. **nec**: not *ne*, because the confidence of victory expressed in § 10 is connected with the suppression of ill-grounded anxieties. — **magni nominis**: supplies the want of an adjective corresponding to μεγαλώνυμος; cf. 31. 8. 6; § 12, *fulgore nominis.* — **existimaritis**: perfect subj.; so *transieris* in ch. 44 6. — **momento**: has its original idea of "impulse," in moving the balance.

12. **dempto**: simple removal without thereby taking to one's self (the meaning of *adimere*), again in § 16. — **conparandi**, *comparable;* the gerundive often is equivalent to the verbal adjective in *bilis*, especially in a sentence containing a negative, direct, or implied in *vix*, or in a question implying a negative; cf. ch. 19. 2; 39. 52. 7. Similarly Sallust in Cat. 10. 2, and Jug. 64. 1 has *optandus; optabilis* only in the later histories.

13. **ut . . . taceam**, *not to mention your twenty years of brave and successful campaigning;* for the omission of the participle with *militiam*, see on ch. 15. 5. — **ab Herculis columnis**: rhetorical exaggeration (cf. ch. 30. 4) not applicable to the soldiers. — **vincentes**, *in a continuous course of victories.*

14. **caeso . . . circumsesso**: an anti-climax in form, but a real climax in respect to the defeated army, for an army might be cut to pieces while fighting bravely, but to be surrounded (cf. ch. 25. 14) showed weakness or bad generalship. — **ignoto**: see on ch. 40. 4; the same thought again in § 18.

15. **praetorio**: see on ch. 3. 1. — **eductum**, *brought up*; cf. I. 39. 6; 2. 9. 6; but also in reference to intellectual training = *educare*, as 30. 28. 4, *cum Hannibale prope nato in praetorio patris, fortissimi ducis, alito atque educato inter arma.* — **domitorem**: verbal noun, because the glory was a life-long one, as was the reproach in *desertor Scipio*; see on ch. 40. 11. — **semenstri**: since the consuls then entered on their office on the Ides of March, this word, if used exactly, would accord with the view of those who place the battle of the Ticinus in September; see on ch. 53. 6.

16. **signis**: the eagles were first used as legionary standards by Marius in his second consulship, 104 B.C. Perhaps Livy here refers to *signa manipulorum.* The remark on the similar appearance of the equipment of the two armies seems inappropriate since the Carthaginians did not adopt Roman arms till after Trebia and Trasumennus; cf. 22. 46. 4. — **certum habeo**: often in Livy; in Cicero, Sallust, and others; also *pro certo habere.* — **consul**: he was consul and therefore commander; the word is purposely chosen to mark the inexperience of Scipio.

17. **cuius non**: note the position of the negative, different from the English. — **idem**, *also*; as *eundem*, § 15. — **decora**, *his glorious deeds of arms*; Hannibal skilfully exaggerates both in depreciating Scipio (*semenstri, desertore, cui . . . consul*), and in commending himself (*cui . . . decora, miliens, omnium*). The veterans of ch. 44. 1 formed the smallest part of his army.

18. **laudatis . . . donatis**: a frequent collocation; cf. 25. 18. 15; 38. 23. 11. — **aciem**: Hannibal's determination to offer a decisive battle was frustrated by Scipio's hasty withdrawal.

44. 1. **veteranum**: see on ch. 43. 13. — **generosissimarum**: of noble descent, like γενναῖος, referring to worthy character and action, praise intended to keep the good-will of the Numidians, Hannibal's favorite troops. — **frenatos**: the heavy-armed Spanish cavalry. — **infrenatos**: the Numidians; see ch. 46. 5; 35. 11. 6 and 7, *Numidae . . . sine frenis.* The word in a negative meaning, here clearly apparent, appears again only in the late Latin.

2. **socios**: all except the Carthaginians (see ch. 22. 2 and 3), described by the stock phrases, *fidelis, fortis*, used by Rome of her worthy allies, especially in the expression *forti fidelique opera uti*: cf. 23. 46. 6; 16. 1; 24. 47. 11; 28. 9. 20. — **pro patria**: see on ch. 41. 14.

3. **infestis**: suggests in this connection a perf. pass. partic. of *inferre.* It is a favorite word with Livy, who uses it both actively and passively. Actively it always implies hostile act or intent. *exercitus infestus* means "a plundering army"; *ager infestus*, "a plundered field." — **inferentis**: Hannibal was in general the aggressor, and by his entrance into Italy was assuming the offensive; see ch. 39. 6.

4. **Ad supplicium**: an addition by the speaker; see ch. 6. 8; 18. 4. — **primum deinde**: not in the two embassies, but in the first (see ch. 30. 3) as leader and accessories. — **deditos** = *si dediti essemus.*

5. **arbitrii**: predicate possessive genitive. A. & G. 214, c.; G. 365, R. 1; H. 403; for the sentiment, cf. Tac. Agr. 30, *raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur . . . soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt.* The charges of cruelty and arrogance were mutually bandied by the Romans and Carthaginians; see ch. 4. 9; 29. 6. 17; 8. 6. — **modum**: referring to Saguntum. — **fluminum**: like *montium*, a rhetorical exaggeration, since only the Ebro could have been meant. — **neque** = *nec tamen;* again in 22. 24. 9.

6. **ne . . . moveris**: these commands represented as spoken by Rome personified to Carthage or to Hannibal present Rome's *superbia* in the form of a climax. "Do not cross the Hiberus" is Rome's first command. Then overstepping the bounds which she prescribes (*neque observat*) she says, "Have nothing to do with the Saguntines." Carthage replies, "But Saguntum is free" (ch. 2. 7), when Rome breaks forth, "Don't stir from your tracks." In prohibitions addressed to the second person the perfect subjunctive is regularly used instead of the present; cf. 22. 49. 8. A. & G. 269, a.; G. 266, 2; H. 484, IV, n. 1.

7. **veterrimas**: in opposition to newly conquered Spain. — **adimis**: present of vivid speech. — **decessero** (Mss. *cessero*): as in ch. 41. 9, because the compound, commonly used of an official leaving his province (cf. 32. 7. 7; 8. 3), expresses more sharply the permanent withdrawal from a previous authority. — **autem**: often in a correction when the speaker repeats by question a word already used, implying that it has not been correctly employed and substituting a more exact expression; cf. Cic. Epist. 1. 9. 10, *inimicum*

meum . . . meum autem? immo vero legum, iudiciorum, patriae. — **transcendisse**: Hannibal could not have heard of Sempronius' recall, and takes the intention of the Romans stated in the next clause as an accomplished fact.

8. **timidis**: dative by attraction after *licet;* so *viris* after *necesse est.* A. & G. 272, a. 1 and 2; G. 535, 2. — **respectum**, *a way of escape;* visible to the mind's eye, stronger than *receptum;* so 9. 23. 12; *respicere*, 27. 12. 3. He returns to the thought of ch. 43. 2 and 3. — **certa desperatione**, *the fixity of despair.* — **dubitabit**, *shall waver;* euphemistic for *adversa erit.*

9. **fixum**: cf. Verg. Aen. 4. 15, *animo fixum immotumque.* — **omnibus**: dative. — **si . . . si**: an asyndeton common in speeches especially with anaphora in comparative or contrasted clauses. — **iterum dicam**: referring to *vicimus* in ch. 43. 2. — **telum**: often figurative, as 3. 69. 2, *detractationem militiae acerrimum telum adversus patres;* 4. 28. 5, *necessitate quae ultimum ac maximum telum est.*

45. This chapter and 46. 1 and 2, lacking in Polybius, are probably taken from Coelius Antipater.

45. 1. **animi**: omit in translating; see on ch. 41. 16, and cf. § 3. — **ponte**: the ablative is instrumental, as if the expression were *ponte fluminis ripas iungere.* — **insuper**: see on ch. 1. 5.

2. **ala**: see on ch. 29. 1. — **depopulandos**: as in 31. 16. 2; 33. 15. 2. Livy did not use the supine *populatum.* — **sociorum**: in distinction from *Gallis* these could not be the Cenomani (ch. 55. 4), but rather the *Laevi*, who in 5. 35. 2 are spoken of as *Ligures incolentes circa Ticinum.*

3. **quinque milia passuum**: the usual distance of hostile camps; 40 stadia, Pol. 3. 68. 7; 50 stadia, Pol. 3. 66. 11; cf. ch. 47. 8. — **Victumulis**: the name, more exactly written by Diodorus, 25. 22, Οὐικτόμελα, was composed of the name of the river *Victium* and a Ligurian word, associated in popular etymology with *tumulus.* The town probably was in the neighborhood of Vercellae. It seems to have been a fortified depot of the Romans in the Gallic war, 225–222, and was now besieged by Hannibal; see ch. 57. 9. Polybius, 3. 65, represents the two armies as approaching each other on the left bank of the Po.

4. **castra habebat**: perhaps a centre of operations, since Polybius, 3. 61, says that Hannibal besieged several towns, though Livy,

ch. 39. 4, speaks only of one. — **certa**: the *digna merces* of ch. 43. 10 were indefinite. — **in . . . spem**: their hope is represented as an object for whose realization they were to fight rather than as a moving cause. It could be fulfilled not after one victory, but at the close of the campaign.

5. **velit**: for *vellet.* The change of tense is a mere stylistic variation, making a temporary change in the point of view. For illustrations, see Kühnast, *Livianische Syntax*, pp. 220–222. — **inmunem**: free from the land tax and such other imposts as Carthage usually exacted from her subjects. This promise, as that of Carthaginian citizenship, shows that Hannibal was acting in accord with his government. — **liberis**: not *posteris*, because limited to the next generation. — **argento**: a variation for *pecunia*, as we say "money" or "cash."

6. **daturum . . . vellent**, *he would see to it that they should not wish to change lots with any of their countrymen. fortunam*, with reference to a happy lot, is more than *condicionem.*

7. **servis**: slaves as persons; **mancipia**: as property.

8. **retinens**: belongs rather to *agnum; tenens* would be more appropriate with *silicem.* — **si falleret**: here absolute; also used with *spem* and *fidem.* The form of imprecation is Roman (cf. I. 24. 8; 22. 53. 11), and Livy retains the Roman Jupiter, while Hannibal would have sworn by Baal or Melcarth. — **precatus**: participle, unconnected with *retinens*, owing to their different time-relations to *elisit.* — **mactasset**: the special word for the killing of a victim. — **secundum**, *immediately after;* corresponding to its derivation from *sequi;* so in ch. 50. 7; 59. 10; 22. 58. 1.

9. **velut . . . acceptis**, *as if they severally had received the gods as sureties for their hopes. quisque* in distributive apposition with *omnes*, by being enclosed in the abl. abs., is made a kind of logical subject of *acceptis* used actively. — **id**: cf. ch. 5. 12, and see on ch. 4. 7. — **potienda**: gerundive, a relic of the early transitive use; cf. 22. 13. 3. — **sperata**: substantive, partly to change with *spem*, partly to supply the rare plural of *spes* (6. 28. 7); cf. *inpertita*, ch. 41. 13; *conata*, 50. 9. *promissa*, *coepta*, *responsa*, *facta* are more often used substantively. The word is here concrete, not hopes, but things hoped for. — **una voce**: more commonly *uno ore.*

46. 1. **super cetera**, *over and above other things* (more than

praeter, "besides"); used as a neuter substantive, without supplying *prodigia;* as in ch. 31. 12; 22. 6. 11. — **prodigiis**: from the year 218 B.C. Livy regularly recounts the prodigies, while Polybius entirely omits them; see on ch. 62. 1.

2. **lupus**: the mere appearance of a wolf, aside from its tearing any one, was an evil omen. Livy reports it seven times, and the appearance of bees or wasps four times; see ch. 62. 5. — **obviis**: used as a substantive, as in 22. 7. 11; 55. 4; a rare use of the adjective except to denote a class, e.g. *boni*, *docti*, *mortales;* see Näg. 25. — **apum**: an evil omen (a portent in 24. 10. 11). Under the circumstances perhaps the wolf and the bees were emblematic of Hannibal and his army.

3. **procuratis**: cared for before the threatened ill became a reality, *averted* by religious observances, prayers, and offerings; cf. 22. 9. 8–10. — **ex peditibus**: conjecture for the common reading *expeditis*, since the Romans had no *iaculatores gravis armaturae*, and Polybius, 3. 65, speaks of these troops as τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς; cf. ch. 52. 9. — **speculandas**: so 36. 6. 2; 42. 17. 1; the supine without object is used in ch. 29. 1; 27. 27. 2; 42. 12; 29. 28. 10.

4. **oriens**: describes more clearly than the perfect the rising cloud of dust. — **propinquantium**: poetic for *adpropinquantium* as in 28. 37. 7, and in Sallust. — **expediebant**: Livy always uses *ad* and the accusative with this verb, others use the dative; the expression is synonymous with *arma aptare pugnae* in 22. 5. 3. Note the synesis.

5. **Gallos**: light-armed auxiliary cavalry (see ch. 48. 1), to whose treacherous flight people in Rome ascribed the disaster; Pol. 3. 68. 10. — **subsidiis**: not the reserves, but the second line supporting the first. In § 6 *secundam aciem* is explanatory of *subsidia*. Livy gives to the first rank an undue prominence in order to make their responsibility for the defeat greater. — **frenatos equites**: were those who fought in compact order; cf. ch. 44. 1. — **firmat**, *forms*, not "strengthens"; as in 22. 46. 3. *Numidis* is instrumental ablative.

6. **fugerunt**: Polybius says without resistance. — **inter subsidia**, *through the openings of the second line;* Polybius says, more exactly, "to the rear of the second line," as Livy implies in § 9. — **quia . . . intermixti**: the cause of *labentibus* as *ubi . . . vidis-*

sent is of *desilientibus;* chiasmus. Many fell from their saddles owing to the fright of the horses; others leaped off to aid their comrades. — **pedites**: the *iaculatores* above. — **ad pedes**, *a contest on foot;* cf. 2. 46. 3, *pugna iam ad gladios venerat;* 22. 49. 3.

7. **donec**: refers not solely to *venerat*, but to the idea of *aliquamdiu anceps*, a common brachylogy in Livy. — **tum primum pubescentis**, *just reaching manhood.* He was seventeen years old, and obtained the command in Spain when he was twenty-four, according to Seneca de Ben. 3. 33, *praetextatus.*

8. **erit . . . est**: i.e. we shall meet this young man again in possession of the glory of completing the war. Yet one would have expected *est . . . erit*, but Florus, perhaps in imitation, wrote (2. 6. 11) *hic erit iuvenis qui in exitium Africae crescit.* — **de Hannibale**: without participle, see on ch. 15. 6.

9. **maxume**: postpositive to *iaculatorum.* Some of the cavalry fled (the statement of Polybius), but mainly the spearmen. — **alius** = *reliquus*, i.e. those who did not run away; cf. ch. 27. 6; 22. 5. 7.

10. **Coelius**: i.e. Coelius Antipater, whose divergence is the more remarkable, as C. Laelius the Wise, to whom Coelius dedicated his work, expressly states (Pol. 10. 3) that Scipio was saved by his son. On the other hand, it is characteristic of Coelius to represent the Ligurians as faithful to the Romans. Cf. the statements of Scipio's landing at Genua (ch. 32. 5) and the fidelity of the Laevi (ch. 45. 2 and 3). — **delegat**, *ascribes;* similarly used in 10. 19. 3. — **plures**: Livy often forms his judgment, especially in the early history, upon a simple majority; see 1. 46. 4; 6. 42. 6; in later times he discriminates, see 22. 7. 4; 29. 14. 9. — **obtinuit**: Livy uses the simple verb *tenere* in the same way; cf. 1. 4. 6; 23. 12. 2. It is then intransitive; *quod* therefore is not the object of *fama obtinuit*, but is accusative with an infinitive (*factum esse*) to be supplied. It may be regarded as a conjunction. *fama* in contrast to *auctores*, see on ch. 1. 4.

47. 1. **equitatu meliorem**: a superiority which Hannibal maintained till the year 210 (26. 38. 14). Cavalry had little part in the first Punic war; probably Hannibal had much to do in developing that arm of service; see ch. 4. 8.

2. **proxima nocte**: the night of the same, not the following, day (cf. 3. 4. 8, *proxima nocte et postero die;* 22. 41. 6;) a distinction

Livy always maintains. *insequens* is joined with *nox, dies, biduum, annus, mensis;* cf. ch. 48. 1 and 4. — **silentio**: not only was the signal with the *tuba* (22. 30. 1) omitted, but the soldiers were to preserve quiet; so in 48. 4. — **ab Ticino**: as Scipio had gone beyond the Ticinus (ch. 45. 3), this means that he gave up that river as a line of defence for the more important one of the Po; hence *festinatumque ad Padum.*

3. **Placentiam**: so Appian, Hann. 5. Scipio may have entered Placentia, but after reorganizing his army, he established a camp (see ch. 48. 1) on the west (left) bank of the Trebia. — **satis**: as in a negative clause (see on ch. 11. 6), because *priusquam* has the force of a negative, cf. 22. 8. 1. Hannibal doubtless expected a renewal of the engagement. — **moratorum**, *loiterers;* from *morator;* cf. ch. 48. 6; 24. 41. 4; according to Polybius a detachment left to guard the bridge, that had not received seasonable orders to retire, though he refers to the bridge over the Ticinus. — **citeriore**: on the northern bank. — **ratem**: collective, the whole bridge; as in § 6. — **extrema**: the end on the south shore. — **secundam**: see on ch. 28. 7.

4. **Magonem**: Hannibal's younger brother (cf. ch. 54. 2) who, says Polybius, 3. 71, "was full of youthful enthusiasm and had been trained from boyhood in the art of war." Shuckburgh. — **in ordinem**, *in line.* — **sustinendam**, *breaking;* cf. *excipiendum* in ch. 27. 8.

5. **peritis**: Livy had a personal knowledge of the Po, having crossed it on his way to Rome. — **nam neque . . . et**, *for on the one hand it is not . . . and on the other.* — **vim**: instead of an adjective; see on ch. 37. 2. — **ut**, *even if* or *although.* — **iam**: concedes the possibility.

6. **vix**: join with *biduo;* it is postpositive like *admodum, amplius, minus* with expressions of number; see on ch. 36. 2. — **ea**: sc. *rate.* — **cum**, *under;* see on ch. 26. 3. — **Hispanorum expeditos**: from § 4 one would have expected *Hispanorum pedites*, which, however, would have been contrary to § 7.

7. **traicit**, *threw over.* — **gravius**: partly from the baggage (§ 5), partly from the absence of the Spanish light infantry (§ 5, *ut iam*).

8. **sex milia**: see on ch. 45. 3. Polybius says 50 stadia; Hannibal took a strong position on the west bank of the Trebia, as Scipio

had at first done. But Scipio had moved his camp to the east bank with his front toward the river, his left toward the hills, and his right defended by the fortress of Placentia; see ch. 48. 4.

48. 2. **portas**: probably the *porta praetoria* and the *porta dextra* near which the auxiliaries encamped. — **quemque suas**: the usual order is reversed to emphasize *suas*. Words regularly joined are often separated for rhetorical effect; cf. 28. 22. 15, *ut mori in vestigio quemque suo vidit*; regular in ch. 32. 10; 45. 9.

3. **contactos**: as if by the contagion of a plague. — **rabie**: marks the growth of *ira* to the point of loss of reason, by which a man sinks to the level of a brute; cf. 22. 51. 9; *furor* in 22. 17. 2. is weaker.

4. **gravis**, *suffering*; weaker than *aeger*; cf. ch. 53. 2. — **tacito**: see on ch. 47. 2.

5. **fefellit**, *escaped notice*; Scipio's change of camp left the country west of the Trebia open to Hannibal, but defended the road to Ariminum by which his reinforcements would come. He could not, however, aid Clastidium; see § 9. — **Hannibal**: see on ch. 31. 9. — **utique**: see on ch. 29. 7. — **vacua**: not simply *deserta*, *relicta* by men (cf. ch. 32. 2; 22. 41. 8), but empty of objects of plunder (cf. 25. 19. 7).

6. **morae**: objective genitive with *pretio* like *operae pretium*. *digno* is absolute; cf. ch. 43. 10; at least Livy never follows Vergil in using *dignus* with the genitive. — **de manibus**: also joined by Cicero with compounds of *ex* as *extorquere, excutere, eripere*, *elabi*. It is found in Livy again only in 37. 12. 3; oftener *ex manibus*; with *emittere*, 22. 3. 10; 41. 3; *eripere*, 26. 9. 8; *elabi*, 28. 8. 3; also the simple ablative, 24. 18. 12, *manu emittere*. Similar variations appear in Livy between *emergere de* and *ex*, and *eiecti de* and *ex senatu*. — **interceptos**: caught on the passage, e.g. a letter.

7. **iam enim et**, *already also*; *etiam* after *iam* is avoided. — **revocatum**: Sempronius, before he had left Sicily for Africa, had been recalled by the Senate on the report of Hannibal's entering Italy; see ch. 51. 5.

8. **procul**: about five miles, on the west bank of the Trebia; see Pol. 3. 68. 7. — **hostium**: in ch. 52. 3 the country between the Po and the Trebia is spoken of as in the possession of Gauls, who had not yet decided which party to follow. Polybius says

that the country was rich, and that the Gauls brought Hannibal an abundance of supplies. — **excipiebat**: our more common metaphor is "stare in the face."

9. **Clastidium**: on the south bank of the Po, opposite the Ticinus, now Casteggio, as shown by inscriptions. A town of the Ligurians occupied by the Romans in the Gallic war; see 32. 29. 7. — **numerum**: for *vim* of the next clause. Perhaps *modium* is to be supplied. It is used of supplies that can be counted or measured. — **nummis aureis**: according to Pliny, N. H. 33. 3. 47, the regular gold coinage of Rome began in 217 B.C. along with the depreciation of silver (see on ch. 41. 6). The gold reckoning of the second Punic war was usually *auri pondo;* see ch. 62. 8; 22. 1. 17; 27. 10. 11. Livy adopts the terms of his own time, and the coin was probably worth about $5.50. The capture of Clastidium, following the retreat of Scipio, brought many of the Gauls to the side of Hannibal. — **Dasio**: belonging to a powerful clan of Apulia, in Brundisium, Arpi, and Salapia, friendly to Hannibal from the outset.

10. **in principio rerum**: see on ch. 1. 1. — **colligeretur**: oftener *conciliaretur;* cf. ch. 60. 4. — **nihil . . . est**, *no severity was shown.*

49–51. Operations in Sicily, from Roman resources.

49. 1. **constitisset**: partly from the approach of winter, partly because Scipio acted on the defensive, and Hannibal was occupied with negotiations with the Gauls looking toward the maintenance and increase of his army; see ch. 55. 9–11; cf. 22. 32. 4. — **interim**: refers to *bellum*, not to *constitisset*, i.e. in the course of the war that had come to a standstill on the Trebia. — **inminentes**: see on 22. 51. 11, and cf. 41. 1. 2, *inminet mari is lacus.* — **terra**: the customary formula is retained though only naval operations are described.

2. **viginti . . . novem**, *of the twenty . . . nine; novem* is in partitive apposition. — **armatis**: troops for making descents upon the coast, not the *socii navales.* — **Liparas**: the largest of the group of islands north of Sicily. Accusative of limit of motion. — **Vulcani**: also called Hiera, now Vulcano, just south of Lipari; described by Vergil, Aen. 8. 416 f. The group was called both *Lipareae* and *Vulcaniae.* — **tenuerunt**, *held toward;* with the object *cursum* omitted as in English, a poetic phrase. — **fretum**: sc. *Siculum;* often used of this strait, cf. ch. 50. 7; less often of the straits of Gibraltar, cf. 23. 5. 11.

3. **eas**: the last three. — **conspectas**: the participial construction, so often in Livy, for *ad conspectum earum;* see on ch. 1. 5. — **Hierone**: Hiero II., king of Syracuse, 269–215 B.C., was from 263 the ally and unswerving friend of Rome; see 22. 37. 5; 23. 21. 5. — **nullo repugnante**, *without conflict.*

4. **cuius ipsi classis essent** = *classem cuius ipsi essent, composing the fleet to which they belonged.* The others doubtless came from Carthage, not from Spain. The Carthaginian allies of earlier times lived in the western part of the island. — **sollicitandos**: for the meaning, see on ch. 2. 7.

5. **Lilybaei**: now Marsala, an impregnable fortress, unsuccessfully besieged by the Romans in the first Punic war, but given up with the island in 241 B.C. — **credere**, *they believed;* the sudden turn to indirect discourse is common in Livy. — **disiecti**: indicates that they had been permanently separated from the fleet. — **deiectam**: indicates a temporary failure of purpose.

6. **Aemilio**: resident in Lilybaeum; see ch. 51. 1. — **provincia**: the praetor governed Sicily; for Sempronius it was merely a base of operations against Africa; see ch. 17. 1. — **monetque**: followed by the subjunctive as in 25. 9. 4; 33. 35. 9.

7. **circa civitates**: the towns along the coast like Panormus and Agrigentum; cf. 27. 28. 4, *circa civitates miserat nuntios.* — **legati**: military officers. — **suos**: the Roman garrisons, including 300 Campanian horsemen. The infinitives are historical. — **ad curam . . . intendere**, *incited to diligent watchfulness,* as in 24. 37. 3, *intenderant eum ad cavendi omnia curam;* likewise *curam intendere,* cf. 25. 9. 7. — **apparatu belli**: concrete, as in 26. 47. 5, *captus est apparatus ingens belli, catapultae, ballistae, scorpiones, arma, tela, signa militaria;* abstract in ch. 8. 1; in 29. 19. 1, it means military preparations. — **socii navales**: these were the sailors (see ch. 50. 5) and rowers; the *milites* and *classici* were Romans. — **cibaria**: rations of flour; in Livy often with *cocta,* cf. 24. 11. 9; especially ship bread that would keep a month; also uncooked, as 3. 27. 4, *cibaria coquere iussit.*

8. **ut . . . ne**: rarely separated so far, but not infrequently used to express an affirmative purpose that takes a negative turn; cf. *ut . . . ut* in 22. 11. 4. — **speculis**: these were erected on promontories, especially along the coasts of Africa and Spain; cf. 22. 19. 6; 29. 23. 1. — **dimissis**: abl. abs. closely connected by *que* to

edicto proposito; all these accessories tended toward the defence of Lilybaeum.

9. **morati**: of an injurious delay, as in ch. 36. 3; 48. 6. — **accederent**: instead of *adpellere*, *advehi;* see on ch. 36. 3. — **pernox**: a poetic word; found also in 5. 28. 10. — **sublatis armamentis**, *with sails spread;* cf. 22. 19. 6; opposed to *demere* in § 11; *armamentis*, as in § 11, includes tackling, cordage, masts, etc.

10. **datum signum**: probably by fires; in the same sense in 44. 29. 3, *ex speculis significatum;* cf. 22. 19. 7.

11. **haud**: the negative placed as in 27. 44. 9, *haud cum ignoto duce;* similarly *haud* is used with *dubius* after the preposition. — **demendis**: i.e. taking down the sails, lowering the masts, and in general "clearing the decks for action" (*vela contrahere, malos inclinare*); *componere* is also thus used, as in 26. 39. 8.

13. **circa**: the battle of the Aegates Islands, 241 B.C. — **multitudine**: for the meaning, see on ch. 5. 12.

50. 1. **evecti sunt**: both parties, the Carthaginians before (see ch. 49. 12), and now the Romans. — **conserere pugnam**, *come to an engagement.* — **vires conferre**, *to measure strength.*

2. **eludere**, *to avoid an engagement;* a word taken from the gladiatorial exercises signifying to foil or parry an adversary's blow, generally transitive; cf. 3. 10. 10; 22. 18. 3. The historical infinitive corresponds to the conative imperfect. — **arte**: *manoeuvring.* — **virorum aut armorum**: hendiadys.

3. **inopem**: a comparison of § 5 with ch. 49. 2 shows that the Carthaginian quinquereme had here about 200 sailors and rowers, and 50 soldiers. The customary number of the Roman crews was 300 or more sailors and rowers, and 120 soldiers (Pol. I. 26. 7). The Romans had a decided advantage in boarding. — **conserta**: analogous to *manum conserere;* probably made fast by the use of a boarding bridge, such as Duillius had used. The subjunctive is iterative; see on ch. 28. 10.

5. **circumventae**: not surrounded, but captured, as in ch. 34. 2. — **nautae**: including the rowers.

6. **perforata**: *rammed* by a Carthaginian vessel. — **reduce**: elsewhere in prose only of persons; cf. Ov. Her. 6. 1, *reduci carina.*

7. **gnaris**: for the construction, see on ch. 21. 1. — **qui Messanae erant**: periphrasis for a lacking noun *Messanenses.* The *Ma-*

mertini of Cicero had reference to the mercenaries of Agathocles rather than the inhabitants of the town. — **ei . . . intranti**: when the dative of the participle denoting circumstance stands at the beginning of its clause and refers to a person just mentioned, *ei* is seldom added; cf. ch. 50. 7; when it occupies a later position, the pronoun is still omitted and connection made by *ita*, etc.; cf. ch. 51. 2; 57. 3; 63. 13; 22. 61. 6; here the consul is in strong contrast to *rex*. — **instructam**: joined with *ornatus* of ships in 42. 45. 7, and often in Cicero, the former referring to the necessary equipment and coming first, and the latter referring to comfort and beauty and occupying the second place.

8. **praetoriam navem**: the admiral's ship, like *cohors praetoria*, *porta praetoria*, recalling the consul's early function as leader (*a praeeundo*); cf. 3. 55. 12, *consulem praetorem appellari mos fuerit.* — **exercitu**: this had come by land to Rhegium. — **in Siciliam**: note the position between the noun and the adjective.

9. **conata**, *past undertakings; conatus* might have referred to the future; cf. ch. 29. 5; see on ch. 45. 9. — **iuvenis**: he was then over forty, now nearly ninety. — **senem**: *se*, which is rarely omitted (cf. 28. 23. 6 with ch. 12. 6; 26. 30. 5; 50. 12), is left out here, perhaps to avoid cacophony.

10. **frumentum**: which he sent in 216 and 215; see 23. 21. 5; 38. 13. — **vestimenta**: regularly of soldier's dress (uniforms) as in 23. 48. 12; 27. 10. 13; see on ch. 4. 8. — **volentibus**: a kind of predicate possessive dative, in imitation of the Greek βουλομένῳ μοί ἐστι, a construction found in Sallust and Tacitus, but in Livy only here, though analogous to *patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga*, in 1. 54. 9. The *quidem* implies a Carthaginian party still existing in the island.

11. **ob haec**: corresponding to *quamobrem;* again in ch. 53. 11; 63. 5; Caesar and Nepos use *ob eam rem* (*causam*); Sallust uses *ob id* (cf. ch. 47. 1) and *ob ea;* Livy has also *ob hoc;* cf. 25. 37. 17; 34. 4. 15; in later writers these phrases are generally substituted for *propter*, *propterea*. — **profecti**: synesis. — **navigantes**, *on the voyage;* along the north coast.

51. 1. **Melitam**: now Malta, 88 miles south of Sicily, left to Carthage in the peace of 241. For the order see on ch. 2. 7; regular, ch. 7. 2; 22. 31. 2. — **tenebatur**: sc. *praesidio*.

2. **milibus**: depends on *cum*, *minus* like *amplius* having no influence on the construction. — **traditur**: has a middle force with Hamilcar but not with *oppidum*. — **a consule**: join with *captivi* = *capti*. The preposition is repeated in the second member with *et . . . et*, *aut . . . aut*, *nec . . . nec*, *simul . . . simul*, *non solum . . . sed etiam*. — **sub corona venierunt**: were sold as slaves at public auction. The expression arose from the placing of garlands upon the heads of those offered for sale, as upon animals for sacrifice.

3. **stare**, *was anchored;* see on ch. 36. 3. This is the fleet of 17 ships mentioned in ch. 49. 2.

4. **Iam forte**: they had just crossed. *forte* is joined as an enclitic to *iam*, as often to other words; cf. ch. 49. 3; 54. 7. The descent on Italy was intentional (see ch. 49. 2); the time of their departure just before the Roman arrival was accidental. — **urbem**: Vibo, in opposition to *agro*, on the west coast of Bruttii, now Monteleone. The name is the Latin form of Hippo = Ἱππώνιον.

5. **Repetenti**: strictly "on the return," like *navigantes* in ch. 50. 11; in the lack of a perf. participle it is used as an aorist (cf. *advenienti* in § 2). — **facta**: omit in translation. Participles are often used to tie prepositional phrases to a noun when they would otherwise drift to the main verb (*litterae ab senatu missae*, "letters from the senate"). Sometimes the change of meaning is unimportant, often essential. — **nuntiatur**: at the same time as *traduntur*, excusing Sempronius for his change of plan. — **litterae**: see on 22. 56. 1. These must have been sent as soon as the report of Hannibal's entrance into Italy reached Rome, before the news of the battle on the Ticinus, and could not have reached Sempronius before the last of October or the first of November. — **in Italiam**: see on ch. 15. 5. — **primo**: like a superlative with *quisque;* cf. 42. 10. 15, *Latinis feriis in primam quamque diem indictis*.

6. **anxius**: see on ch. 2. 1. Sempronius had been diligently preparing supplies and means for a descent on Africa. The transports prepared for this purpose were doubtless used for sending the army to Ariminum. Polybius states, 3. 61. 10, that the army went by land, the consul breaking up the military organization at Lilybaeum, and requiring the soldiers to take an oath to be present at Ariminum in forty days. He himself passed through Rome with some of his troops, and greatly encouraged the city by his presence

— **mari supero**: the Adriatic (ablative of road by which), safer than the Tuscan Sea (*mare inferum*), which was beset with Carthaginian cruisers; and Sempronius rightly judged that Scipio, if forced to retreat would, retire by way of Mutina and Ariminum to the via Flaminia.

7. **explevit**, *enlarged to.* — **compositis**: so that an uprising of former Carthaginian subjects and the descents of fleets might not be feared. — **legens**, *coasting;* as in Verg. Georg. 2. 44, and not infrequent in the following books of Livy, and in the later prose. — **coniungitur**: this was possible only under the condition (see on ch. 47. 8) that Scipio had moved his camp to the east bank of the Trebia.

52–57. 4. Battle of the Trebia; to ch. 55 exclusively from Polybius, 3. 68 f.; the description of the battle has additions from Roman sources.

52. 1. The subject of *declarabat* is the clumsy expression *ambo . . . oppositum* (cf. *litterae . . . missae*, ch. 51. 5), in which *oppositi* is to be supplied with *consules* (see on ch. 1. 5). *The fact that both consuls, etc., . . . made it clear.* — **quidquid**: all the troops opposed to Hannibal. — **aut . . . aut**, *either . . . or else.* — **spem nullam**: if after a victory Hannibal should push forward, the Romans might not have time to equip a new army; see ch. 41. 15; 53. 3; 57. 1. The whole is grossly exaggerated.

2. **Tamen**: notwithstanding the union of the two armies. — **uno**: that on the Ticinus, not that of ch. 29. 2 f. — **minutus**, *discouraged;* in opposition to the confidence of his speech in ch. 40 f. The participle usually joined with *animus* (ch. 50. 4) is here transferred to the person, to balance the clauses *alter . . . alter.* — **patiebatur**, *would not hear of.*

3. **Quod . . . est**: on the left bank of the Trebia, as appears from § 9 and from Polybius, 3. 69. 5, from whom the statement is taken. — **favorem**: refers not merely to feelings, but to the fact that they gave actual assistance to both parties. — **spectantes**, *watching for;* the participle is in sense the main predicate; rare for *Galli, qui incolebant, spectabant.*

4. **modo . . . moverent**, *provided only they (the Gauls) made no movement.* — **satis**: weakens *aequo* as *per* strengthens *iniquo.* — **accitum**: as described in ch. 29. 6.

5. **ob eam rem**: see on ch. 2. 6 and 5. 4. — **Numidas**: belongs only to *equites*. — **deinceps**: an adjective (see on ch. 8. 5) describing the country stretching from his camp to the river. West of the Trebia the Po makes a great bend, enclosing a large extent of country.

6. **ad id**, *up to this time*. — **consules**: the plural in view of the fact that the two held different opinions. — **laboranti**, *harried*; referring to *populari* in § 5.

7. **ut**: see on ch. 47. 5. — **obsolevissent**: as in 38. 43. 8, *veterem viam et obsoletam*; in the first decade oftener *abolesco*; cf. 1. 23. 3, *cum re nomen vetustate abolevit*. — **recentem**: see ch. 25. 7.

8. **continendis . . . sociis**: dative of purpose; cf. 22. 35. 2. — **maximum**: see on *maiora*, ch. 43. 3. — **primos . . . defensos**, *the defence of the first who needed*; see on ch. 1. 5. — **censebat**: indicates that his view was formally given in a council of war.

9. **peditum**: limits *iaculatoribus*, and *ferme* limits *mille*. It is possible to join *peditum* with *mille*, in which case *iaculatoribus ferme* is an explanatory appositive. Sempronius as yet controlled only his own forces. The general command passed to him in ch. 53. 7. — **admixtis**: so Scipio, ch. 46. 3. — **trans**: on the west side.

10. **Sparsos**: without *eos*; see on ch. 50. 7; the Numidian and Gallic foragers. — **inopinato**: also *ex inopinato*; cf. *inproviso* and *ex inproviso*, 25. 9. 11 and 30. 10. — **stationes**: see on ch. 4. 7. — **fugam . . . fecere**: see on ch. 32. 8.

11. **cedentes**: an orderly retreat in distinction from rout or disorder, *fugere*; cf. ch. 54. 4. The noun *fuga* means both flight and retreat. A corresponding difference exists between *sequi* and *insequi*; cf. 27. 43. 2, *cedentem sequi*; 31. 35. 3, *insequentes refugientesque*.

53. 1. **iustior**, *more complete*; not *fama*, but *victoria*; so *iust(a) pugna, acies, bellum, proelium* (cf. 22. 28. 13), in opposition to *latrocinia, furta belli*. — **efferri**, *was beside himself*; the exaggerations of the speech are characteristic of an over-confident temper, and the passage such a description as Livy loved to make; see on ch. 16. 2. — **parte**: for the meaning, see on ch. 17. 8.

2. **magis . . . aegrum**: the comparative in *ior* is lacking; cf. 40. 56. 9. — **memoria**, *from thinking of*; the ablative is causal with *horrere*.

3. **senescendum**: figurative for the loss of energy when comfort is an excuse for indifference; cf. I. 22. 2, *senescere civitatem otio.*

3. **Quid . . . tempus**, *why long postpone or waste time?* *tempus* is the subject of *differri* in the sense of *occasio*, or *differri* may be considered as impersonal, "delay." — **alium exercitum**: it was the existing practice to raise only two consular armies, and from their characteristic difficulty in adapting themselves to new conditions the Romans were actually in the straits described.

4. **in conspectu urbis**: like *in media Italia* (§ 5), an expression of passion. — **cis Hiberum**: Northern Spain; sc. *sitam* (see on ch. 15. 6); owing to its omission the prepositional phrase precedes the noun. — **forent**: often in the *oratio obliqua*, even outside of conditional clauses, as in § 1 and ch. 21. 1; formed from the root *fu* (φύω, *fio*), "become."

5. **ingemiscant**: the liveliness of the present corresponds to the change to the direct speech (see on ch. 10. 4), and the difficulty arising from the lack of a supine of *ingemisco* is avoided. — **soliti**: exaggerated reference to the expedition of Regulus to Africa, 256 B.C., which after temporary success ended in failure. — **paventis**: because Scipio acted on the defensive after the battle of the Ticinus. — **quod . . . agri**: the western part of Cisalpine Gaul Hannibal had not yet occupied, much less subdued; *dicionis*, for the construction, see on ch. 44. 5. — **Appenninum**: not used in the plural by the Romans.

6. **adsidens**, *at the bedside;* often of the care of the sick, and in connection with *curare.* — **praetorio**: the open space in front of the general's tent, where he loudly talked in the presence of officers and men (22. 14. 15), almost as if there were a regular assembly, *contio*, which there was not, as in camp this never took the place of a *concilium;* see on ch. 14. 1. For *contionabundus*, see on ch. 36. 1. — **tempus . . . comitiorum**: this touches the weak spot in the Roman military system, the frequent change of commanders, determined, not by fitness, but by popular elections. The elections took place at least a month before the consuls entered on their office, but owing to the disorder of the calendar, the actual date differed about two months from the assigned date. It was then about the middle of December; see ch. 57. 4; 22. 1. 4; 26. 1. 1.

7. **parari**: so in § 11, instead of *se parare* in ch. 31. 1, because no actual order was issued to prepare for a contest, only a general direction to be in readiness. — **optimum**: to act on the defensive and gain time.

8. **cum** = *cum autem.* — **percitum**, *excitable;* often joined with *ira.* — **ferox**: like *audax*, a *vox media*, yet oftener implying blame; cf. 22. 3. 5; 12. 12. — **cum praedatoribus**: see on *in Siciliam*, ch. 50. 8. — **haud**: litotes; see on ch. 13. 8. — **fortunam**: the favorable opportunity arising from circumstances; *tempus*, the moment in which the opportunity is to be seized.

9. **dum . . . dum . . . dum**: anaphora; join with *ne . . . praetermitteret.* — **meliorem**: in general Polybius, Coelius, and Livy praise, or at least excuse, Scipio and blame Sempronius, as they also do Flaminius in 217 and Varro in 216.

10. **vigerent**: before their enthusiasm cooled.

11. **speculatores**: substantive, not used adjectively like *ruptor* in ch. 40. 11. Hannibal was well informed by spies, even of what went on in Rome; see 22. 33. 1. — **militabant**: among the Romans as *auxiliares;* see ch. 48. 1. That the Gauls in Italy joined Hannibal's army is probable and proved by Polybius, 3. 68. 8, but nowhere actually stated by Livy; see ch. 38. 4. Perhaps Livy had in mind the Alpine mountaineers; see ch. 42. 1. — **insidiis**: dative of purpose. A. & G. 233, b.; G. 350; H. 392, 2, n. 1.

54. 1. **medio**: between the Carthaginian camp and the Trebia. — **circa**: see on ch. 43. 4. — **herbis**: reeds and marsh grass. — **quibus . . . vepribusque**, *the usual growth in waste places, shrubs and brambles;* note the position of the relative clause. — **equites . . . tegendo**: the dative of the gerund with an object is so purely poetic that Madvig, saying that he knows of no certain instance in prose, reads *equiti.* — **quoque**: the concealment of infantry is implied. — **hic . . . locus**: these words, indicating Hannibal's presence at the spot (Polybius says he had long had this place in mind), are hardly consistent with *praetorium missum*, unless we suppose that the staff officers accompanied Hannibal in his reconnoissance and were considered as constituting an informal council of war. — **Magoni**: see on ch. 47. 4.

2. **pedite**: the light armed, as in ch. 46. 6. — **corpora curare**: see on ch. 31. 1. — **tempus est**: see on ch. 43. 9. — **praetorium**:

the military council, so called from the place of meeting, as *curia* for the senate. *missum*, analogous to *senatum mittere* (26. 36. 11), = *dimissum*.

3. **robora virorum**, *these are picked men, I see;* abstract for concrete. — **turmis**: refers to the cavalry, *manipulis* to the infantry; see on ch. 3. 1. — **vestri similes**: in comparing inanimate objects Livy uses *similis* exclusively with the dative except in the phrase *veri similis;* in comparing persons the genitive predominantly, and always with the pronouns *mei*, *tui*, *sui*, *nostri*, *vestri*, etc.; cf. I. 22. 2; 22. 12. 5; 39. 1; 60. 18.

4. **iniecto . . . certamine**, *when a battle had been drawn on;* cf. 26. 36. 11. — **pertrahere**: again in 22. 15. 7.

5. **signum**: with the trumpet; as in ch. 59. 4.

6. **tumultum**, *feint.* — **ferox**: often like *fretus* of over-confidence; cf. 22. 12. 12. — **destinatum**: in accordance with Livy's fondness for the participial construction this is substituted for *ad id quod iam ante consilio* (*animo*) *destinaverat;* cf. ch. 44. 9; 27. 47. 9, *in destinatis iam ante animo latebris.*

7. **forte**: belongs also to *nivalis dies;* see on ch. 51. 4. — **brumae**: for *brevima* = *brevissima*, the shortest day. — **nivalis**: see on ch. 26. 8. — **fluminum**: the many tributaries of the Po, both north and south. — **paludium**: more commonly *paludum.* Charisius rejects the genitive form *ium* for all nouns of the third declension, in *lus* and *tus* with a long ultima, like *virtus*, *palus.*

8. **Ad hoc**: for *praeterea*, like *ob hoc* for *propterea;* see on ch. 50. 11; cf. ch. 55. 7. — **hominibus**: dative. — **ope**, *means*, such as Hannibal employed; see ch. 55. 1. — **quidquid . . . vis**, *the nearer they approached the* (*atmosphere of the*) *river*, *the more cutting became the frosty air.* The neuter pronoun is used with intransitive verbs to denote the compass or extent of the action, perhaps with a kind of agreement with the substantive implied in the verb "whatever approach"; cf. 25. 6. 23; 31. 15; Näg. 32. A. & G. 240, a.; G. 331, 2; H. 371, II. — **acrior**: corresponds to the implied comparative in *adpropinquabant.*

9. **refugientes**: agrees with *Numidas;* for the meaning, see on ch. 52. 11. — **erat . . . imbri**, *the water was breast high, swollen by the rains of the night.* — **aucta**: is an adjective. — **tenus**: postpositive, as in 26. 45. 8, *umbilico tenus;* also poetically with the

genitive in 26. 24. 11; 44. 40. 8. — **tum**: does not refer to *ut vero*, as *ingressi* and *egressi* would be contradictory, but implies an ellipsis. They felt the cold on entering the water, but were especially benumbed on stepping out upon the bank; cf. ch. 11. 8; 29. 7. — **simul**: joins *rigere* and *deficere*.

55. 1. **Hannibalis . . . procedit**: an excellent instance of the Livian period. Note the vivacity given by the successive ablative absolutes, each with a different subject, by the omission of the subject of *mollirent*, by the logical order of thought culminating in the expression *in aciem procedit*.

2. **Baliares**: properly slingers (see ch. 21. 12), are here made to include all the light-armed (cf. §§ 6 and 9), from which they are elsewhere distinct; 22. 4. 3; 46. 1; 28. 37. 6, *fundis ut nunc plurimum, ita tum solo eo telo utebantur, nec quisquam alterius gentis unus tantum ea arte quantum inter alios omnes Baliares excellunt*. The Baliares proper could hardly have numbered 8000. — **dein**: almost local in this connection; cf. *deinceps*, ch. 52. 5. — **quod . . . erat**, *comprising the flower of his army;* see on ch. 1. 2. — **circumfudit**: sc. *peditibus; in cornibus* refers to the whole battle line, not merely to the infantry, otherwise the dative would have been used. — **decem**: besides the 1000 detailed for the ambuscade, a proof of Hannibal's care in keeping up that arm of his service by Gallic reinforcements; see ch. 38. 3. — **ab cornibus**: not as usual "on the wings" (see on ch. 27. 1), but "from," "in front of," in contrast to *in . . . partem*. The arrangement was as follows: the centre was composed of the best African, Spanish, and Gallic infantry. In front of it were the light-armed troops. Cavalry composed the wings, while the elephants stood a little in front of the spaces separating the centre from the wings. The battle was begun by the Baliares and the cavalry, though Livy does not mention this fact; but the rapid movement of the light-armed from the front to the wings (§ 5) brought the centre against the legions, and on the rout of the Roman cavalry gave the light-armed an opportunity to make a flank movement, one of the most favorite manoeuvres of Hannibal. Polybius puts Hannibal's infantry at about 20,000, cavalry at 10,000 including Gauls, and light-armed troops at 8000.

3. **circumdedit**: the Roman cavalry was usually on the right wing, the allied cavalry on the left.

4. **Romana**: for *Romanorum* or *Romani;* lit. *eighteen Roman thousands;* so Caes. B. G. I. 49, *sedecim milia expedita.* Polybius says 16,000, but according to Livy there were five legions, two under Scipio, two under Sempronius, and one under Manlius, all of which, however, had suffered losses; see ch. 17. 9; 26. 3; 32. 5. — **socium**: for the form, see on ch. 17. 2. — **nominis Latini**: this name, in use before the Social war, 90 B.C., was applied to the old towns of Latium which were in alliance with Rome, and to the many colonies enjoying the same rights scattered throughout Italy (ch. 25. 2). It thus became more of a political than an ethnic name. — **auxilia**: not a regular addition to the legions; see 22. 37. 7. — **Cenomanorum**: a Gallic people living between the Addua (Adda) and the Athesis (Adige), whose capital was Brixia (Brescia); see 5. 35. 1. They were often hostile to the Insubrians, hence friendly to Rome.

5. **legiones**: according to Polybius the Roman light-armed troops were placed in front of the centre, but having discharged nearly all their javelins in the pursuit of the Numidians, they were forced to retire by the first onset of the Baliares, leaving the legions uncovered.

6. **propere . . . extemplo**: the manoeuvre of the Baliares, retiring to each wing, was a complete surprise to the Roman general. — **nam . . . se**: such a succession of monosyllables is usually avoided. — **quattuor milia**: Sempronius originally had 2400, and 1600 were raised for the Gallic army (see ch. 17. 5, 8, 9), so that the cavalry of Scipio's later legions must have about made good the losses at the Ticinus and the losses from absence. — **plerisque**: all except the Numidians. — **velut nube**: the metaphor was poetic (Verg. Aen. 2. 424; 10. 808; Ennius, Ann. 287, *ferreus imber*), and not common in prose at that time, hence softened by *velut;* cf. 38. 26. 7; 36. 18. 5, *nimbus;* 28. 37. 7, *grando* of stones; a similar figure in 22. 39. 7, *procella.* We say "storm," "rain," or "hail" of bullets.

7. **Ad hoc**: like *insuper* in § 6. This threefold attack upon the Roman cavalry was unknown to Polybius, and was entirely improbable in view of the arrangements of the troops. — **odore**: the same statement occurs in Appian, Hann. 7, and other writers.

8. **quas . . . contra**: the two reasons for the inequalities of the

battle, but the second is made independent to avoid two contrasted relative clauses. — **pedite**: the heavy infantry in which the Romans were superior.

9. **et . . . et . . . et**: this threefold attack is given by Polybius, who joins Numidians with the Baliares. — **tulerant**: poetic for *intulerant*. — **praeterlata**: except in this place Livy has only *praeferri*, which he uses with the accusative in 5. 26. 7; or with *praeter* in 6. 29. 3; or most commonly absolutely, but not with a dative. For the medial passive, cf. ch. 61. 11; similarly *praevehi*.

10. **Tamen**, *nevertheless;* contrasted with *in . . . malis;* the preposition *in* might be omitted.

11. **velites**: an anachronism since the *velites*, light-armed skirmishers, were not organized till 211 B.C., but troops for similar service existed before that date. Livy also mentions them in 23. 29. 3; 24. 34. 5. — **locati**: after being withdrawn from the front, § 3. — **fodiebant**: with both spears and swords.

56. 1. **Trepidantis**: i.e. *elephantos;* see on ch. 28. 11; for the meaning of *consternatos*, see on ch. 11. 13. — **sinistrum**: Hannibal's left, the Roman right, the side most exposed to attack since the shields were carried on the left arm.

2. **in orbem**: having formed a square facing in all directions, a common arrangement against the attacks of cavalry; cf. 22. 29. 5; 23. 27. 6. — **decem milia**: probably the *hastati* and *principes*, the *triarii* having been cut down by Mago's cavalry. Sempronius probably fled with these troops; see ch. 57. 3. His services are passed over in order to extol Scipio's in § 9. — **Afrorum** = *Poenorum;* not of the "centre" in general, but the middle part of it, otherwise *qua* must be put for *quae*. — **acie**: ablative of road by which; see on ch. 22. 5; 51. 6. It is probable that as at Cannae the Gauls occupied the centre of the infantry, enclosed on the sides by Hannibal's veteran Africans and Spaniards, and that the weakness of the Gauls opened the way for the legions; see 22. 46. 3; 47. 7. For *firmat*, see on ch. 4. 65.

3. **decernere**: oftener *discernere;* cf. ch. 4. 3. — **Placentiam**: the retreat of the Romans to a fortress not only confessed defeat in battle, but abandoned the open country, though Livy seeks to disguise the fact, which Polybius admits. — **recto itinere**: with Livy's apparent belief that the battle was fought on the right bank

of the Trebia, this describes a direct march to Placentia. If the battle was on the left bank, as it undoubtedly was, this can only mean "by the shortest way," which would be down the Trebia and then across the river, perhaps by a bridge that was at Placentia. It was this bridge, perhaps, that allowed Scipio to have his first camp on the west bank; see on ch. 47. 3.

4. **eruptiones**: others besides the 10,000 attempted to cut their way out; cf. 22. 6. 8.

5. **passim**: opposed to *flumen petiere.* Those fleeing north or west followed the track of the 10,000; those fleeing south had eventually to cross the river. — **cedentis**: not *fugientis;* see on ch. 52. 11. — **contendere**: perfect. — **aliis**: implies an *alii* before *vestigia.* — **ingrediendi**: *ad ingrediendum* would be more common.

6. **homines**: the Carthaginians. — **prope omnis**: of the original 37 elephants, according to Polybius 3. 74. 11, all but one died; according to Livy, ch. 58. 11 and 22. 2. 10, at least eight survived.

7. **flumen Trebia**: for the order, see on ch. 2. 7.

8. The statements of this and the following sections, wanting in Polybius, betray a Roman origin favorable to Scipio at the expense of Sempronius, probably Coelius Antipater. They involve the following difficulties: (*a*) The placing of the Roman camp on the west bank of the Trebia. (*b*) The existence, or preparation in a single night, of rafts sufficient to transport across the river a large body of men. (*c*) The ability of Scipio, in spite of the wound that prevented his taking any part in the battle, to direct the evacuation of the camp in a stormy night, and to lead his army, in the face of the enemy, to Placentia. (*d*) The ignorance or culpable oversight of Hannibal. — **sauciorum**: those from the battle on the Ticinus.

9. **prae**: as often of a hindering cause: cf. 22. 3. 13. — **Pado**: ablative of road; cf. *acie,* § 2, and ch. 57. 5. — **Cremonam**: being on the river, it could easily be provisioned.

57. 1. **Romam**: placed first, changing the scene from the Trebia. — **Romanam**: for the adjective, see on ch. 30. 11. Polybius says that, after the battle on the Trebia, Sempronius merely reported that he had fought, but the weather had deprived him of his victory, and after the truth was known no extraordinary preparations were made, only the ordinary number of legions was raised, and detachments sent to exposed coast towns in Italy and Sicily.

In this account the same rhetorical exaggerations appear as in Scipio's speech in ch. 40 and 41. — **arcerent**: with the simple ablative, always in local references; cf. 5. 8. 8, *munimentis vim arcere*, ch. 17. 6; 26. 6; the preposition *ab* is used only with persons, as in 6. 9. 7; 10. 11. 13, *vim ab se arcere*.

2. **revocatum**: this was in fact before the battle, on the report of Hannibal's entrance into Italy; see ch. 51. 5.

3. **territis**: dative; for the omission of *iis*, see on ch. 50. 7. — **periculo . . . audacia . . . spe**: the ablatives bear different relations to *transgressus; periculo* is abl. abs. of attendant circumstance, *audacia* is causal, and *spe* denoting the condition of the consul's mind is one of those mixed ideas that unite both cause and circumstance and cannot logically be referred to any one form; *per spem* might have been used. — **fallendi**: λανθάνειν; cf. ch. 48. 5; transitive in § 6. — **transgressus**, *making his way through;* the participle cannot be referred by a change of punctuation to *advenit*, since *id quod* could not begin the next sentence.

4. **id quod**: the relative clause precedes that to which it is an appositive; cf. ch. 18. 2; 22. 4. 5. The election of consuls could be conducted only by a consul or a dictator appointed for that purpose; see on 22. 8. 5. — **in praesentia**: ablative; cf. 22. 60. 4, and often, as also in contrast to *in posterum*, *in perpetuum*, *in futurum;* so *in praesens* and *in praesens tempus*. — **hiberna**: Placentia. — **et**: for this use, see on ch. 6. 3. — **Flaminius**: as Flaminius had been consul in 223, *iterum* would have been expected, since from the fourth book Livy uses it in reporting elections; cf. 22. 25. 16.

57. 5–**59**. Military operations in the winter of 218–217, from a Roman source.

5. **Ceterum**: for this use, see on ch. 5. 1; cf. 22. 36. 6; 41. 1. — **Romanis**: in Placentia and Cremona. — **quaeque . . . erant**: sc. *loca*, *wherever the country was too difficult for their operations*, owing to marsh or wood or mountain; cf. 22. 18. 3, and ch. 27. 2.

6. **Emporium**: not a proper name; a market place on the Po, probably the port of Placentia, which Hannibal would thus cut off. Placentia remained in the hands of the Romans, and in 207 resisted an attack of Hasdrubal; see 27. 39. 11. — **opere**: collective, *with strong works;* for *magno*, see on ch. 43. 3. *magno opere* is adverbial.

— **castelli**: like that mentioned in ch. 45. 1. — **cum . . . habuisset**, *since his greatest hope for the accomplishment of his undertaking lay in his success in concealing it*; join *spei* with *plurimum*. The lack of a siege train and his consequent inability to capture fortified places was one of the chief obstacles to Hannibal's ultimate success; see 22. 9. 2; 23. 18. 9. — **adortus**: concessive.

7. **consul**: Sempronius' return is not mentioned till ch. 59. 2, and Scipio was said to be at Cremona; Livy apparently left the reader to solve the riddle.

8. **in . . . quia**: one would have expected *Hannibal vulneratus est* to follow, but see on ch. 6. 4. — **saucius**: his second wound; see ch. 7. 10. — **pavore**: Appian gives Hannibal's loss as 400. — **praesidium**, *the post*; so in § 11.

9. **Victumulas**: for the word, see ch. 45. 3. A depot of Roman supplies, which Hannibal wished to capture in order to lessen the pressure of his drafts upon the Gauls. — **pergit ire**: for the meaning, see on 22. 19. 4. It is clear from *paucis*, in § 12, that Hannibal had only a small part of his army with him, and his name is probably introduced only to lay upon him the burden of the cruelty; cf. ch. 4. 5.

10. **emporium**: also a depot of the Romans. — **munitum**: it therefore had a Roman garrison. — **frequentaverant**: and therefore made important. — **mixti**: Ligurians and Gauls.

11. **ad Placentiam**: because the town was at some distance. — **arreptis**: with their usual impetuosity; see on ch. 16. 4.

12. **agmina**: loose lines of march; **acies**: the ordered line of battle. The expression implies a surprise to Hannibal. — **ex . . . in**: the first is simply local (see on ch. 27. 1), the second is partly descriptive, *while in the other*, yet the variation is mainly stylistic; cf. ch. 41. 14.

14. **scribentibus**: as in 22. 7. 4. Livy avoids *historicus* and *historia*; see on ch. 1. 1; 42. 4. — **ulla . . . clades** = *ullum genus cladis*: cf. 22. 4. 1; Tac. Agr. 16, *nec ullum saevitiae genus omisit ira*. — **adeo**: for this use, see on ch. 7. 3. — **exemplum**: such as had been given in the capture of Turin; but since some of the inhabitants of Victumulae were Gauls, Hannibal's conduct is strange; see ch. 48. 10. — **hibernae**: the operations of ch. 59 seem to belong here. Polybius knows nothing of these movements.

58. 1. **frigora**: the plural of abstract nouns often denotes the repetition or variety of a given exhibition of the quality; see on ch. 31. 8; cf. 22. 1. 1; *calores*, 2. 5. 3; so we say "frosts," "snows," and with a different application, "colds."

2. **hibernis**: the connection shows that they were near the Po; see ch. 56. 9; 57. 5. — **Ligures**: their adherence to Hannibal has been only incidentally mentioned in ch. 38. 3; cf. 59. 10; ch. 39. 4 and 5. — **vi aut voluntate**: note the alliteration (the same in 29. 3. 10; 31. 41. 2), and the reference of the words to different subjects; see on ch. 39. 4; cf. *opem . . . inops*, § 10.

3. **transeuntem**: without *eum*, which is added only occasionally in the first decade, e.g. 1. 35. 6; 4. 14. 6; see on ch. 50. 7. As usual in Latin the order renders an adversative particle unnecessary. — **tempestas**: the following description is strongly rhetorical, and even poetic. Note the climaxes *ventus, imber, nivosae grandinis; primo, dein, tum vero, tandem, de integro*, and *constitere, considere, procumberent*, and also the poetic expressions, *vertice intorti*, *reciprocare*, *ignes, perscindente, nivosae*. — **ora**: sc. *militum;* cf. 22. 46. 9. — **arma omittenda**: to lay aside the arms in order to take them up later; cf. 5. 47. 5, *armis omissis saxa manibus amplecti;* often equals *abicere;* cf. ch. 8. 12; 22. 49. 3; for a different meaning, see ch. 11. 13. — **aut . . . adfligebantur**, *or in striving to stand against it they were dashed to the ground by the whirling blasts;* the Latin often puts into the subject an idea (*intorti*) which we put into the predicate. *vertice* is usually said of water, here of wind. Lucretius, 6. 444, *venti vertex*.

4. **includeret**, *took away their breath*, for the moment; *intercludere* is used mostly of suffocation: cf. 22. 51. 8; 23. 7. 3. — **reciprocare**: of the ebb and flow of the tide, a new metaphor for breathing; they could breathe neither in nor out.

5. **strepere**: of thunder. — **ignes**: for *fulmina*. — **capti . . . oculis**, *deafened and blinded*. *capere* is used of both temporary and permanent loss of power; cf. 22. 2. 11; of paralysis *captus omnibus membris*, 2. 36. 8.

6. **accensa**, *intensified;* the favorite Latin metaphor of fire is transferred to wind. For *vis*, as in § 9, see on ch. 37. 2.

7. **explicare**: of the tents; **statuere**: of the poles. — **quod** = *si quid;* the subjunctive is iterative.

8. **levata**: the rain-drops broken by the wind froze in fine parti-

cles; sleet; cf. 37. 41. 2, *nebula matutina crescente die levata in nubes.* — **nivosae**: perhaps from Coelius, who was fond of adjectives in *osus*, like *morbosus;* cf. ch. 31. 11, *glareosus.* — **tegminibus**: oxymoron with *tecti.*

9. **strage**: with the literal idea of its primitive *sternere*, a lying along the ground. — **attollere ac levare**, *to raise and lift himself up;* cf. Verg. Aen. 4. 690, *ter sese attollens cubitoque annixa levavit.* — **nervis**, *muscles.* — **artus**: for the meaning, see on ch. 40. 9.

10. **movere ac recipere**: sc. *coeperunt;* courage came back with the ability to use their limbs. — **fieri**: as a formal passive this infinitive is joined by Livy with *coeptus sum* 14 times (the construction occurs in books 21 and 22, 10 times); on the other hand, as originally intransitive (φύειν), in 2. 21. 6, and in the early classical writers it is joined with *coepi.* — **alienam**: the opposite of *suus*, which is usually joined with *quisque.* — **quisque inops**, *every one in his helplessness; quisque* is rarely used absolutely, excused here by the lack of a superlative of *inops;* the order is also unusual. The common construction would have been *ut quisque maxime inops erat ita maxime tendebat.* T. — **tendere**: usually with *manus;* absolute in ch. 31. 9; 4. 31. 2.

11. **facto**: the addition of the participle is the exception rather than the rule in Livy. — **superfuerant**: for the number, see ch. 56. 6.

59. 1. The events of this chapter, not given by Polybius, are probably taken from some annalist. They offer the following difficulties: (*a*) That Sempronius with his weaker army, on an open plain, should have been able unmolested to make a camp seven miles from Placentia, and only three from Hannibal, § 2. (*b*) That in a fierce battle lasting three hours, as long as was required for the great battle of Trasumennus (22. 6. 1), the loss was comparatively slight. (*c*) That Hannibal should have retired to Liguria, so far from where he afterward crossed the Apennines (22. 2. 2 and 3. 3). (*d*) The insufficient time. Between the winter solstice of 218 (ch. 54. 7) and the 15th of March, 217 (ch. 63. 1), occurred the battle of the Trebia, Sempronius' journey to Rome and his return, his journey to Lucca (§ 10), and return to Ariminum (ch. 63. 1), — events that could hardly have been included in so short a time, especially if, as Livy implies, Sempronius was accompanied by

troops to Lucca, though in ch. 63. 1 the legions are said to winter in Placentia. If the account is not to be regarded as a repetition of the earlier battle, the action was perhaps a feint to secure a seasonable retreat to Etruria in obedience to the command of the new consul; see ch. 63. 1. — **quinque**: for the omission of *milia*, see on ch. 23. 1. The extraordinary proportion of cavalry, and also their loss, § 9, is justified by the open country about Placentia.

2. **detrectavit**: that day was merely a preparation for the battle of the next. — **tria**, *only three*; see on ch. 4. 7. — **passum**: synezesis in the genitive plural especially with this word is common, and in Livy particularly in the first decade.

3. **vincerent**: subject supplied by synesis from *res Romana*.

4. **media castra**: the arrangement of the Roman camp is adapted to the Carthaginians; so in *porta dextra*, *laeva* of § 6. — **exspectare**: the signal from the trumpet; cf. 24. 38. 6, *intenti signum exspectabitis*; 5. 45. 1, *intenti quam mox signum daretur*; 22. 42. 7. The *spectare* of the Mss. would refer to a banner.

5. **postquam**: with the imperfect, see on ch. 28. 4.

6. **accepit**: from the reports of his officers; he being in *media castra* could not see. — **recessum**: impersonal; sc. *esse*. — **robore**: the heavy infantry; cf. ch. 55. 2.

7. **magis**: for the order, cf. 25. 21. 1, *nec res magis ulla tenuit quam spes*. — **aequa**, *indecisive*, with this meaning the adjective does not form a comparative; cf. *aequata*, § 8.

8. **nox**: the strong contrast to *dies* renders *sed* unnecessary. — **diremit**: so Sall. Jug. 60. 8; Caes. B. C. I. 40. 7. — **aequata**: i.e. Hannibal had driven the Romans back nearly to their position of the morning. — **plus cecidit**: instead of *plures cecidere*, corresponding to the singular with *dimidium*. *plus* is not to be taken with *dimidium*, which is an independent subject with *ab utraque parte* to be supplied; *eius* is neut. substantive; cf. 30. 12. 5, *non plus quinque milia occisa, minus dimidium eius hominum captum est*.

9. **tribuni militum**: roughly corresponding to the modern colonel. The *praefecti sociorum* held a similar rank. In *equestris ordinis* is an anachronism, as an *ordo equestris* was not formed till 122 B.C., but Livy here means the members of the eighteen centuries who received horses from the state and served at their own

charges, in distinction from those who furnished their own horses and received pay, the *equites legionarii.*

10. **concessit**: *concedere* is especially used of going into winter quarters; cf. ch. 21. 1; 15. 3. — **Lucam**: an incomprehensible move from Livy's standpoint, but intelligible if Sempronius wished to block Hannibal's entrance into Etruria either by way of Bononia and Pistoria, or by the road along the coast. — **intercepti**: by the Ligures. — **senatorum . . . liberis**: since as a rule the senators had the highest census their sons entered the centuries of the knights. — **traduntur**: it is not known what Hannibal did with them. The *triumviri* surrendered to him (ch. 25. 5), he returned to the Boii, see Pol. 3. 67.

60, 61. Affairs in Spain during 218, according to Polybius 3. 76; the second campaign, ch. 61. 5–11, from a Roman source.

60. 1. **Dum**: refers back to ch. 32. 4, an interval of about six months.

2. **Emporias**: now Ampurias, on the gulf of Rosas, an ancient colony of the Phoceans (see 26. 19. 11; 34. 9. 1), and favorable to the Romans.

3. **Lacetanis**: the district of Lacetania, of which the chief town was *Jacca* (now Jaca), lay back from the coast at the foot of the Pyrenees, outside the immediate operations of Scipio. Perhaps Livy mistook the name, or, as Hübner suggests, it may be Laeetanis (Strabo, 3. 4. 7; Pliny, N. H. 3. 22), a people living around Barcelona. — **societatibus**: first with Emporiae, then perhaps the Bargusii; cf. ch. 19. 7. — **dicionis**: in a limited sense; cf. *sociorum*, ch. 61. 5; for the construction, see on ch. 44. 5; cf. 53. 5.

4. **conciliata . . . fama**, *the report gaining ground. Clementia* is often noted as the special virtue of the Romans, and of the Scipios; cf. 28. 34. 3; see on ch. 4. 9. — **ad**: differing little from *apud;* both prepositions are used with *valere;* cf. 31. 48. 1; 38. 28. 6. — **populos**: the peoples civilized by commerce, in distinction from *gentes.* — **mediterraneis**, *the interior;* like *montanis*, neuter plural; see on ch. 31. 2. — **iam**: join with *ferociores.* The tribes grew more fierce the farther they were distant from the coast. *iam* often stands with a comparative to denote that the increase rests upon a progress in space or time. — **ferociores . . . gentes**: especially the Ilergetes. Notwithstanding a slight difference of meaning *ferocior*

and *ferocissimus* are used as the comparative and superlative of *ferus;* therefore in 33. 12. 10, *gentes feras;* Curtius, 9. 4. 16, *ferocissimas.* — **parta** : conjecture for *parata* of the Mss., since Livy says only *pacem, victoriam, gloriam,* etc. *parere;* cf. 3. 24. 11; 10. 38. 1; 34. 44. 5. — **cohortes** : *socii* and *auxilia* were never formed into independent legions.

5. **eum . . . eius** : for the repetition, see on ch. 2. 6. — **ad . . . praesidium** : for *ut praesidio esset;* cf. ch. 23. 3. — **obviam eundum** : often of countermovements; cf. 3. 59. 4. — **eduxit** : for its use, see on ch. 39. 10.

6. **Romano** : for *Scipioni,* see on ch. 45. 2.

7. **Nec . . . fuit,** *the struggle was not a severe one. certaminis* is genitive of quality. The general idea (*res*) is repeated in both *certaminis* and *dimicatio.* — **cum,** *besides.* — **principibus** : Polybius mentions *Indibilis,* the chief of the Ilergetes, afterward freed; see 22. 21. 3. Livy omits him either to spare his readers so many names, or that the campaign may not seem the same as that described in ch. 61. 5 f. — **Cissis** : probably the vanished town of the Cessetani (Pliny, 3. 3. 21), not far from Tarraco. — **expugnatur** : the lively historical present following *expugnata sunt* implies a difficulty in the capture of the town which is not borne out by the context.

8. **barbarica** : *vasa fictilia* instead of gold and silver. Note the number and order of the genitives in the sentence. *mancipiorum* is in the same construction as *rerum,* instead of being an appositive of *praeda,* like *supellex.* — **vilium,** *cheap;* as compared with educated and skilful Greek slaves.

9. **caris rebus,** *articles of value;* cf. 22. 42. 6. — **citra** : from the captor's point of view.

61. 1. **accideret** : of rumor, as in ch. 10. 12. — **mille** : the ablative of *mille* as a substantive is rare, attracted here by *milibus* (cf. 28. 3. 2); the nominative and accusative are common, and often used with a genitive; see on 22. 31. 5; cf. 37. 8. — **tamquam** : often used with a future participle to mark a purpose unfulfilled or merely assigned. — **adventum** : at their landing. — **perditas res,** *rout* or *catastrophe;* stronger than *clades,* because the country was lost with the battle; see on 22. 6. 9; cf. 26. 18. 6, *perditas res desperatumque de republica esse.* — **iter** : Hasdrubal's route lay inland

through friendly tribes, where he might gain reinforcements, and then either unite with Hanno or take the Romans on the flank. Failing in the latter, he turned upon Tarraco.

2. **vagos**: aimless wandering as impulse led; **palantis**: wandering in scattered companies. — **quod . . . creent**, *with the carelessness generally begotten of success. quod* (used to avoid a repetition of *ut*) finds its antecedent in *ut . . . creent*, and *quod . . . creent* modifies the preceding clause adverbially. — **maiore**: sc. *tamen;* cf. ch. 48. 1. — **passim**, *in all directions.*

3. **ne**: follows *ausus* as a verb of fearing; or as a final clause may be joined to *recepit*. Scipio was pressing inland.

4. **raptim . . . acto**: the same phrase in ch. 41. 4. — **praefectos navium**: here the commanders of single ships, as in 23. 26. 4; 30. 10. 21; *praefectus* (*classis*) is the commander of a fleet; cf. 23. 38. 7. — **Tarracone**: inserted here to avoid the recurrence of so many endings in *o*. — **modico**, *sufficient;* not "scanty," "moderate"; the next step would be *firmum, validum praesidium;* similarly *admodum*, "quite," "fully," "complete."

5. **aderat**, *appeared;* in the neighborhood of Tarraco, certainly not of Emporiae. — **Ilergetum**: see on ch. 22. 3. — **ipsorum**: sharply contrasts the faithlessness of the Ilergetes with the fidelity of the Roman allies. The emphasis given to this alliance (ch. 60. 3) implies a Roman source, which turns from the Ilergetes as *socios et ipsos Poenos*, § 8.

6. **Excito**: marks the unexpectedness of the inroad; *excitatus* refers mainly to the feelings, "excited." — **Atanagrum**: not elsewhere mentioned, probably feminine. — **quae**: refers to *urbem*, as in 22. 20. 7; *quod* is also used with *caput;* cf. 5. 8. 4; 33. 1. 1.

7. **intraque**: Livy appends *que* without hesitation to dissyllabic prepositions like *circa, contra, extra, inter, intra* (27. 37. 9), *praeter;* to but few monosyllables, *in, per, pro*. — **ius dicionemque**: this and similar phrases express complete subjection on surrender.

8. **et ipsos**: as earlier the Ilergetes. — **urbe**: *Ausa*, afterward *Vicus Ausetanorum*, now *Vich*, north of Barcelona. — **ferentes**: purposing to give.

9. **duodecim milia**: an incredible number, in view of the fact that they were a detachment seeking to enter the city secretly. — **exuti**: they had to throw their arms away. — **quam**: sc. *magis*. —

tutabatur: cf. 38. 19. 5, *cum altitudo locorum eos tutaretur;* elsewhere only of men.

10. **tutamentum**: here only in classic prose; Verg. Aen. 5. 262, *tutamen.*

11. **viginti talentis**: ablative of price; about $23,000. — **deduntur**: middle voice = *se dederunt.* — **reditum**: does not imply a return to the place of departure (Emporiae, § 4), but at the close of the campaign a retirement to winter quarters.

62, 63. Affairs in the city in the winter of 218–217.

62. 1. **prodigia** were indications of the displeasure of the gods, which it was necessary to avert (*procurare*) by sacrifices, offerings, and ceremonies. If they occurred in a house or on private grounds, the individual only was concerned; if in public places or anywhere on the *ager publicus* (the suburbs were regarded as belonging to the city), the state was called upon to act. The catalogue-like form (*et . . . et . . . et*) in which both the prodigies and the averting ceremonies are given shows that Livy copied them from the *commentarii pontificum.* Henceforward they are given with great regularity; cf. 22. 1. 8–20. — **motis**: Livy recognizes the readiness to believe prodigies as an occasion for their being reported; cf. 24. 10. 6; 27. 37. 2; 29. 14. 2; Cic. de Div. 2. 27. 58, *Haec in bello plura et maiora videntur timentibus, eadem non tam animadvertuntur in pace. Accedit illud etiam, quod in metu et periculo cum creduntur facilius tum finguntur inpunius.*

2. **quis** = *quibus*, the ablative form often used by Sallust and Tacitus in this formula. — **olitorio**: the vegetable market between the foot of the Capitoline and the river. The cattle market lay between the Palatine and the river at the end of the *Vicus Tuscus*, the busiest street of ancient Rome. — **triumphum**: the vocative of the shout *io triumphe* is the accusative of the object, analogous to *clamorem clamare;* cf. 22. 1. 20; Ovid, Amor. 1. 2. 25, *populo clamante triumphum.*

3. **in**: inserted in accordance with Livy's constant usage; cf. 22. 57. 6; 24. 10. 7. The simple ablative stands only in connection with an adjective (cf. 23. 10. 7, *foro medio*), or in the plural in the phrases *foris . . . domi, foris . . . Romae.* — **contignationem**, *story*, to which the steer climbed by an external stairway. — **sua sponte**: usually applied in the account of prodigies to the strange move-

ment of inanimate objects, *moveri*, *labi*, *erigi*, *converti*, etc.; cf. 22. 1. 11; here in opposition to *tumultu habitatorum.* It would be more appropriately joined with *se commovisse* § 4; cf. 36. 37. 2, *boves duos per scalas in tegulas pervenisse aedificii.*

4. **navium**: a fleet, not different occasions, which would call for the plural *species.* — **de caelo**: for the preposition see on ch. 27. 1. — **adfulsisse**: to men; cf. 43. 13. 3, *caeli ardentis species adfulserat.* — **quae est**: usually omitted by Livy (see on ch. 15. 6); it is perhaps taken from the pontifical chronicle. — **hastam**: of the goddess. The Romans were not idolatrous, and in the earliest times had no images of their deities, though a spear stood as a symbol of the deity. In later times statues of gods were made. — **Iunonis**: *Sospitae*, whose grove and temple were sacred jointly to the Romans and the Lanuvians. All the places here mentioned must have been regarded as Roman soil. — **pulvinari**, *couch;* commonly applied to the *lectisternium;* different from *pulvinus.*

5. **hominum specie**, *human forms*; ablative of quality, yet in the omission of the noun, as if from a religious scruple of giving an exact description, serving as the logical subject of *visos.* — **ullo**: substantive. — **Caere**: one of the twelve early allied cantons of Etruria, famous for its warm springs. — **sortes extenuatas**, *the lots had shrunken;* an omen of misfortune, as the opposite was of good fortune. The *sortes* (from *serere, to join*, as *fors* from *ferre*) were small oaken tablets, inscribed with ancient characters and words. They were kept in a cave, mixed together and then drawn out by a boy, and their haphazard arrangement was oracular. They were kept at several places besides Caere, as Falerii, Praeneste, and Patavium; see on 22. 1. 11.

6. **libros**: for the *libri Sibyllini* and the *decemviri* see on 22. 1. 16. — **novemdiale**: a nine days' holiday, that is from one market day to another, was the standing observance for this prodigy from its first record in the time of Tullus Hostilius; cf. 1. 31. 4, *mansit certe sollemne, ut, quandoque idem prodigium nuntiaretur, feriae per novem dies agerentur.* The prodigy plainly indicates volcanic action and the fall of lapilli and scoriae. Being accompanied by subterranean mutterings, it inspired especial dread. Other prodigies were met in accordance with the direction of the Sibylline books. — **subinde**: directly after the *novemdiale sacrum.* — **operata**: ad-

jective, like *intentus*, with the dative; cf. 22. 2. 1. The verb is introduced into prose from Vergil by Livy.

7. **Iam primum omnium**: *iam omnium primum* is also used when a general statement is presented in parts; cf. 22. 37. 5. — **lustrata**: by festal processions and sacrifices. — **hostiaeque maiores**: full-grown victims in distinction from *lactentes;* cf. 22. 1. 15. — **editum**: the regular word concluding the decemvirs' report of things to be done; cf. 22. 10. 10.

8. **pondo**: the usual mode of reckoning in the second Punic war; see on ch. 48. 9; for the form, see on 22. 1. 17. — **Lanuvium**: the indication of the place in opposition to *urbs*, *Caere*, *in Algido*, is of importance from the relations of the town to Rome; see 40. 19. 2. — **Iunoni in Aventino**: *Juno Regina*, brought by Camillus from Veii; see 5. 22. 4 f. The two gifts to Juno are coupled, but the present to the Lanuvian goddess is the more important. — **lectisternium**: a solemn occasion when the statues of the gods were placed on couches covered with rich tapestries (*lectus . . . sternere*). Rich viands were also placed before them, and processions came to make prayers to them; see on 22. 10. 9. — **adtenuatae**: not appreciably different from *extenuatae* in § 5; cf. 22. 8. 4. — **Algido**: sc. *monte*, better known for the worship of Diana, while *Fortuna*, besides her worship at Rome (see on ch. 10. 6), was especially honored at Antium and Praeneste.

9. **quoque**: instead of an *et* before *Romae;* it contrasts Rome with other places. — **Iuventati**: the wife of Hercules corresponding to the Greek Hebe, in whose honor a temple was built at an earlier time (5. 54. 7), and afterward also by the victor at Sena Gallica; see 36. 36. 5. — **nominatim**, *especially*, in opposition to *omnia pulvinaria;* Wfl. contrasts it with *universo populo.* — **universo populo**: cf. 22. 10. 8. — **Genio**: sc. *populi Romani.* Civic communities and peoples, like individuals and families, had their own guardian deities.

10. **Atilius**: sent back to Rome by Scipio when he took command in Gallia Cisalpina; see ch. 39. 3; 63. 15. — **eodem stetisset statu**: the same formula in vows in 30. 2. 8.

63. 1. **Flaminius** was the leader of the popular party, and is steadily represented by the aristocratic historians as a demagogue. As *tribunus plebis*, 232 B.C., he carried through the comitia of the

tribes, without the ratification of the Senate, a law, regarded by Polybius as the beginning of the breakdown of the Roman constitution, for the distribution, to the plebeians in severalty (*viritim*), of the lands in Umbria and Picenum, lately taken from the Senonian Gauls. In 227 he was praetor, and receiving Sicily as his province, governed it with justice and moderation. In 223 he was consul and conducted a campaign against the Insubrian Gauls. The opposition to him by the Senate was intense, and they sought to drive him from office by alleging a defect in the auspices. He received the dispatches recalling him to Rome just as he was preparing for battle, but suspecting their contents, he left them unread till after the battle, which resulted in his victory. The triumph which he demanded was refused by the Senate, but awarded by the people. His censorship, 220 B.C., was marked by the construction of the *Circus Flaminius* and the *Via Flaminia* leading from Rome to Ariminum. His support in 218 of the law of Q. Claudius to prevent the senators from engaging in mercantile pursuits made him more hateful to them and more acceptable to the people, who in 217 made him consul for the war against Hannibal. His previous experience of the tricks of the Senate led him to leave Rome, where custom, not law, required him to perform certain inaugural ceremonies, and to enter upon his office at Ariminum. The Senate threw the blame of his subsequent defeat upon his disregard of custom and of auspices. Modern historians judge him variously. See Mommsen and Ihne. — **hibernabant**: at the time of the allotment Sempronius had previously withdrawn; see ch. 59. 10. — **sorte**: both consuls had the same *provincia*, the war against Hannibal in Cisalpine Gaul; hence they drew lots for the armies, the one in the west and the one in the east. — **edictum et litteras**: perhaps hendiadys for *per litteras*, or Flaminius may have given the *edictum* to Sempronius when the latter was in Rome, and afterward supplemented it by dispatches. — **Arimini**: this town on the Adriatic in the district affected by Flaminius' agrarian law would give him a large body of supporters. If, however, as Polybius, 3. 77. 1, and Cicero, De Div. I. 35. 77, state, he went to Arretium (22. 2. 1), he must have given up his original plan, or Livy must have been confused here and in § 10 and ch. 15. 6.

2. **Hic**: at Ariminum, an extraordinary but not unlawful pro-

ceeding; see Suet. Aug. 26, *quartum consulatum in Asia; quintum in insula Samo, octavum et nonum Tarracone iniit;* Tac. Ann. 2. 53. — **inire**: so in I. 27. 6; 29. 20. 11, instead of the more common genitive of the gerund. — **prius**: because only a second item follows. — **abrogabatur**: conative imperfect, because he did not accede to the Senate's demand to abdicate, § 1. The verb here refers to their demand, and not to Flaminius' actual abdication.

3. **invisus**: joined to the subject of *habuerat*, instead of dative like *memori*. — **novam**: in opposition to *veterum certaminum*. The law did not introduce a new principle, but formulated long-established prejudice. — **tulerat**: without ratification by the Senate, in imitation of Flaminius' course in 232. — **cuive . . . fuisset**: a senator's son after his father's death might still be only a knight. — **maritimam navem**, *a sea-going vessel.* — **amphorarum**: in common speech *amphorum;* cf. Cic. Epist. 12. 15. 2; Charisius, I. 15, *amforum in consuetudine est.* The measure of capacity of ships, as we say "tons." Three hundred amphorae would be about eight tons.

4. **vectandos**: frequentative, from the annual harvest of crops. — **omnis**: not simply trade in grain; probably the *lex Claudia* also contained the requisition, known in later times, that the senators should not engage in farming the revenue (*redemptio*). — **patribus**: depends on *indecorus.* Aside from the view, apparently not shared by the Senate, that trade was improper for senators, the law arose from a desire to prevent the monopoly in foreign trade from falling into the hands of the richest class, the senators, who were also the political rulers. The vessels allowed them were large enough to bring the produce of their distant farms in southern Italy and Sicily to Rome. — **nobilitatem**: the same as *patres.* — **inde**: the election in 218 was the immediate result of the advocacy of the law of 220.

5. **ementiendis**: falsification of omens was not uncommon (Cic. Phil. II. 80), and slight things were sufficient for nullifying omens, as when Flaminius had been made master of the horse by the dictator M. Minucius Rufus, and both were forced to resign because a mouse had been heard to squeak immediately after the election; see Plutarch, Marcel. 4. On setting out for a campaign the consul consulted the augurs, and by unfavorable omens they

could prevent his departure (*retinere*); see 22. 1. 7. — **Latinarumque feriarum**: a four days' celebration which took place each year, after the accession of the new consuls, on the Alban mount at the temple of Jupiter Latiaris (the presiding deity of the Latin league). Its time was not fixed, but was annually determined by the Senate. — **privatus**: in citizen's dress, before putting on his official robes.

7. **inauspicato**: not without, but against, the auspices: a *vitium* appeared. The reference is to his first consulship; see § 1; 22. 3. 13. For the construction, see on ch. 23. 1. — **spretorum**: sc. *deorum*. The following clauses refer to the customary ceremonies at the inauguration of a consul. On the day of entering upon office the consul rose at daybreak, took the auspices and put on the purple-bordered robe (*toga praetexta*) at his own house. Then, attended by the Senate and the priests, he proceeded to the capitol, where he sacrificed the two white steers, vowed by his predecessor, and with prayers for the national prosperity vowed two for the next year. He next held a meeting of the Senate at which religious matters were first settled, then the time of the Latin festival determined, and the internal and foreign relations of the state considered.

8. **monte**: sc. *Albano*. This sacrifice is especially mentioned because it was the concluding act of the four days' festival.

9. **paludatus**: the putting on of the general's cloak (*paludamentum*) marked the entrance on the military command as the *toga praetexta* on the consulship; see 25. 16. 21. — **clam, furtim**: scornful asyndeton, common between two synonymous words, and in archaic style retained in later prose; see on ch. 10. 3, and cf. 2. 3. 7; 8. 16. 5, *forte, casu*; 9. 38. 14, *nocte, silentio*; 22. 22. 15, *clam, nocte*; 22. 24. 6, *luce, palam*; 23. 3. 3, *forte, temere*, and the often recurring *Iuppiter optimus maximus*.

10. **videlicet**: ironical, like *scilicet*.

11. **Revocandum . . . retrahendum . . . cogendum**: climax. — **praesentem**: in person, not by proxy.

12. **legationem**, *mission*. — **legatos**: more confidence was placed in oral than in written demands. — **moverunt . . . moverant**: the regular repetition of the verb where we say "did" or "had."

13. **Paucos**: as soon as he had reached his destination. — **inmolanti**: dative of disadvantage. While he was sprinkling salted

meal upon the victim's head, in distinction from those who were performing the sacrifice.

14. **fuga**: the word means not only flight, but the mental state that produces flight; cf. ch. 61. 2. — **procul**: at some distance, in opposition to *circumstantes*. — **quid trepidaretur**: *what the occasion of the confusion was.* — **in omen . . . acceptum**: taken to be, regarded as, an omen; cf. Tac. Ann. 12. 43, *fames in prodigium accipiebatur.*

15. **duabus a Sempronio**: the two legions that wintered at Placentia (see ch. 56. 9; 59. 1 and 2), but afterward went to Luca; see ch. 59. 10. Flaminius must have taken command of them in Arretium, not in Ariminum, since they could not have marched from Placentia to Luca, then to Ariminum and back over the Apennines to Etruria. — **duabus a C. Atilio**: these may have been two newly enrolled legions brought up from Rome, where Atilius was in ch. 62. 10, or perhaps they were the remains of Scipio's army, which had been at Cremona and had been brought to Ariminum by water, where Servilius took his command, though Appian says that he took command on the Po. Livy's account of the troops is very confused, and seems to show that he followed, without harmonizing, two different authorities. — **per Appennini tramites**: not using the great roads, the *via Flaminia* and the *via Cassia*. — **exercitus duci est coeptus**: the anacoluthon, instead of *exercitum ducere coepit*, shows clearly a lack of care in the close of the book.

NOTES

TO

BOOK XXII.

1, 2. Hannibal's departure from winter quarters. Prodigies; ch. 1, 1–4, and ch. 2 according to Polybius; ch. 1, 5–20, from Roman sources.

1. 1. **Iam ver**: the spring of 217 B.C.; see notes to 21. 59. — **itaque**: instead of the *que* of the Mss., as in 10. 20. 9, *iam lux adpetebat; itaque signa canere iussit;* cf. ch. 19. 11; 35. 8. 1. — **ex hibernis**: according to 21. 59. 10, these were first near Placentia, afterward in Liguria. Polybius, 3. 87, speaks of them as mere bivouacs, not permanent quarters. — **frigoribus**: for the plural see on 21. 58. 1.

2. **pro eo ut**, *instead of,* found only here with this meaning; elsewhere *in* or *cum eo ut.* T. — **raperent agerentque**: *ferre* oftener occurs with *agere;* cf. ch. 3. 7. — **hibernis**: the remnants of the Roman legions were first quartered at Placentia and Cremona, afterward (see 21. 59. 10) at Luca. — **videre**: instead of the Mss. reading *viderent*, which was assimilated to the preceding clause; cf. 37. 27. 5, *postquam videre classem, in fugam verterunt;* 24. 30. 2; on the other hand, an undoubted example of *postquam* with the imperfect subjunctive is wanting in Livy.

3. **insidiis**: denied by Polybius (23. 13), but asserted by Just. 34. 4. 12. — **tegumenta capitis**, *wigs;* by which he appeared as an old man, or again as a young man; see Appian, Hann. 7. 6. — **errore**: the uncertainty of the Gauls about his person.

4. **idibus Martiis**: owing to the irregularity of the calendar (see on 21. 53. 6) the Ides of March were then actually in January, and not in the spring time just mentioned.

5. **invidia**: of the aristocracy; see on 21. 60. 1.

6. **Latinis feriis**: for the festival, see on 21. 63. 5 and 7.

7. **concipere**: usually "to take in due form," e.g. *votum, ius-iurandum;* here "to begin in official form," as in 5. 17. 2, *magistratus vitio creatus sacrum non rite concepisse.* A general whose auspices for any reason were declared informal was obliged to return to Rome for their renewal.

8. **metum**: because the circumstances mentioned in §§ 6, 7, were of a disquieting nature. — **prodigia**: see on 21. 62. 1. Observe the arrangement by which the name of the place comes first. Each new prodigy is introduced by *et*, except *sortes . . . adtenuatas;* a second prodigy in a place already mentioned by *ac*, and enlargements and more exact accounts by *que*. — **militibus**: sc. *Romanis;* see 21. 49. 6. — **spicula . . . arsisse**: electric flames on the spear-points (St. Elmo's fire), commonly taken as an indication of victory; see 43. 13. 6; Cic. De Div. 2. 36. 77. — **circumeunti**, *making his round;* the duty partly of the knights, partly of the tribunes; see 28. 24. 8; Pol. 6. 35.

9. **sanguine**: so 27. 4. 14, *signa sanguine multo sudasse;* cf. ch. 36. 7. Valerius Maximus, 1. 6. 5, has the accusative. — **minui**: so 30. 38. 6, not *deficere*, which is regularly used of an eclipse. — **ardentes lapides**: meteoric stones, distinguished from the fall of volcanic stones; see on 21. 62. 6. — **Arpis**: in Apulia. The other prodigies, in §§ 9–11, occurred near Rome, but perhaps this is mentioned with reference to the battle of Cannae; see on ch. 12. 3.

10. **aquas Caeretes**: renowned warm baths; see on 21. 62. 5. — **ipsum**: one of the most important at Caere. The mixture of blood, in reality the effect of colored earths, was a striking prodigy. — **metentibus**: the participle is used instead of the verbal noun *messoribus*, because the action is only temporary; cf. 28. 11. 2.

11. **sortes**: a striking asyndeton; yet it is not probable that the name of a town, having an oracle, has dropped out, since Plutarch, Fabius 2, refers this prodigy to Falerii, although there is no other tradition of an oracle there. See on 21. 62. 5, where *sua sponte* was omitted. — **scriptam**: for *inscriptam*.

12. **signum**: probably in the temple mentioned in 10. 47. 4, in front of which statues of wolves may have stood. — **cadentis**: a large shooting-star; see Plin. N. H. 2. 35. 100.

13. **minoribus**: less foreboding than the foregoing, in which conflict, weapons and blood had the principal part. The former

were natural phenomena distorted by a superstitious imagination; the latter natural monstrosities. — **lanatas**: i.e. the hair had become wool. — **sese vertisse**: commonly *verti*, *converti*; cf. 21. 62. 4, *hastam se commovisse*; for the more common *motam esse*.

14. **sicut**: without underrating or exaggerating. — **expositis**: by the presiding consul; see § 5.

15. **triduum**: as in 31. 8. 2; 40. 53. 3, and often. For the sacredness of the number three, see 21. 62. 6; 23. 31. 15, *novemdiale*; 27. 37. 7, *decrevere pontifices ut virgines ter novenae carmen canerent*; and see on ch. 10. 7.

16. **decemviri**: i.e. the decemvirs *sacris faciundis*, a college of five patricians and five plebeians, originally of two, and afterward of fifteen members; see 10. 8. 2. — **libros**: the Sibylline books, written in Greek verses (*carminibus*), contained no prophecies, but declared the ceremonies of atonement, and the means of averting the anger of the gods. — **quem ad modum**: to change with *ut*; see on 21. 13. 5. — **praefarentur**: *edere* is more common; cf. ch. 10. 10; 37. 3. 5; *praeire* is also used, cf. 43. 13. 8.

17. **primum** = *iam primum omnium*, which, as in the report of prodigies in 21. 62. 7, is not followed by *deinde*, but by *et . . . et*, usual in the religious style. — **pondo**: originally ablative, "according to weight," with ellipsis of *librarum*.

18. **commodum**, *convenient*; also said of free-will offerings, in 25. 12. 14. These contributions were originally asked for the service of the gods that were not Roman. — **ut**: to recall the dependence of the subjunctives upon the distant *decretum est*. — **libertinae et ipsae**: as well as the matrons. Their association in financial burdens corresponds in time (Macrobius, Sat. 1. 6. 13) to the enrolment of the *libertini* in the legions; see ch. 11. 8. — **Feroniae**: according to Varro, *libertorum dea*, in whose temple at Tarracina deserving slaves received their freedom. Perhaps, however, the gift here mentioned was made at the shrine of Feronia, near Mount Soracte, near which a great fair was annually held.

19. **Ardeae**: no prodigies were announced from there, but the decemvirs probably sacrificed to Venus at that place, as on other occasions to foreign gods; see 43. 3. 11. W. — **Decembri**: of 217 B.C. — **lectisternium**: see on 21. 62. 8.

20. **Saturnalia**: a festival founded at the beginning of the

republic at the consecration of the temple of Saturn; see 2. 21. 2; now reformed at the direction of the Sibylline books, and enlarged to include a *convivium* and *lectisternium*. Afterward, owing to the change in the calendar by Caesar, it was extended to three days. — **clamata**: for the construction, see on 21. 62. 2. — **diem**: December 19th.

2. 1. **placandis**: customary before departure from the city; see ch. 8; 27. 11. 1; 33. 26. 6. — **Romae**: placed between *placandis* and *dis*, because a wider application is given to *habendo dilectu*. — **dilectu**: dative as with *operari* in 21. 62. 6. Each consul raised the customary two legions, perhaps strengthened from 4000 to 5000 men, besides a contingent of allies of at least equal strength. Servilius had the remnants of the army of Scipio, and Flaminius those of the army of Sempronius. The raising of the two consular armies to four legions each was apparently not considered necessary, even though Appian, Hann. 8, says the Romans had thirteen legions. He includes those on the Po, and reckons the legions of 218 which existed scarcely but in name; see Momms. Hist. Vol. II. bk. iii. ch. v. and Ihne, Hist. Vol. II. bk. iv. ch. viii. — **dat operam**: this order appears to be the common one when the words mean "to take pains"; see 2. 44. 4; 21. 45. 6; but *operam dare*, when they mean "to be occupied in"; see 3. 34. 1; 23. 35. 17. F.

2. **aliud longius**: two roads led from Gallia Cisalpina, one by Ariminum, a strong Roman fortress; the other from Faventia to Faesulae. This was doubtless the *aliud longius* of the text, but Hannibal, to surprise the Romans, did what they least expected (see 21. 31. 9), and took another route not definitely known to us. — **fluvius Arnus**: for the order, see on 21. 2. 7. — **solito magis**: as in 25. 7. 8, but in reverse order in ch. 14. 2; for the ablative, see A. & G. 247, b.; G. 399, Rem. 1; H. 417, n. 5. — **inundaverat**, *overflowed its banks;* elsewhere transitive; see 24. 9. 6. Polybius does not mention the overflow of the Arno; and though one might think he was speaking of the swamps along the southern tributaries of the Po, a view maintained by Strabo (5. 1. 11), yet he clearly implies that Hannibal did not find firm ground till he reached the neighborhood of the Roman camps.

3. **et omne**, etc.: Polybius, 3. 79. 1, says, "He placed the Lybians and Iberians and all his best soldiers in the van," in general the

troops brought from Spain, perhaps mercenaries (Ligurians and Baliares; see 21. 22. 2 and 3), in opposition to the newly enrolled Gauls. — **ipsorum**, *their own;* Polybius implies that all the baggage train was there; 3. 79. 2. — **necubi**: *lest . . . anywhere;* the word is compounded of *ne* and *cubi*, the original form of *ubi*, and the indefinite portion *cubi* modifies *consistere coactis.* — **usus**: provisions, hardly tents; cf. *nec usibus*, 24. 1. 2. — **medium**: for the construction, see on 21. 31. 2.

4. **Magonem**: according to Polybius, Mago commanded the third column, which was composed of cavalry. Livy's expressions, *primos*, *medium*, *novissimos*, *inde*, *cogere*, are hardly consistent. Note the chiasmus *primos ire*, *sequi Gallos*, and in general the involved character of the sentence. — **ut**: often introduces a well-known fact to explain a statement. — **mollis**: the same weakness is ascribed to the Gauls in 21. 16. 4; 25. 6. — **dilaberentur**: used especially of soldiers breaking ranks without orders; see on 21. 32. 10.

5. **modo**: restrictive, *provided only*, or *supposing that.* — **praealtas**: joined with *rupes*, *mons*, *ripa* as well as with *flumen*, *alveus*, *vorago.* — **profundas**: preferably used of seas, swamps, and the like, is here used for nearer definition and emphasis. — **limo**: the swamps had a solid bottom under the mud.

6. **prolapsi**, *having slipped;* Livy seems to say that the ground became more slippery by the march of the advance guard, while Polybius says that the mud became deeper. — **alii . . . alii**: distribute the subject of *sustinebant* and correspond to the preceding *aut . . . aut.*

7. **et ipsa**: cf. ch. 1. 18; because *iacentia* and *procubuissent* correspond in meaning. — **conficiebant**: the object is to be supplied from the connection.

8. **aquis**: like the English plural "waters," suggested by *omnia.* The singular *aqua* is used three times in the following clauses because *unda*, *fluctus*, etc., cannot be used of swamps. — **in sicco**: the substantival use of the adjective, singular and plural, governed by a preposition is characteristic of Livy; cf. ch. 3. 1; 4. 3; 47. 8; 21. 22. 9; 42. 1; 60. 4. — **insuper incumbebant**: *superincumbere* is avoided in classical prose; see on ch. 51. 9; 21. 1. 5.

9. **passim**: belongs to *acervi*, as *itinere toto* to *prostratorum.*

10. **unus**: one of the original thirty-seven; see on 21. 56. 6; 58. 11. Note the attraction of the numeral into the relative clause; so *in sicco*, ch. 3. 1. A. & G. 200. d.; G. 618; H. 445. 9. — **quo** = *ut eo, that the*, is used in final clauses that contain a comparative. A. & G. 317. n. b.; G. 545, 2; H. 497, II. 2.

11. **caelo**. *air*. — **gravante caput**: because diseases of the eyes are often accompanied by severe headaches. Note the use of the abl. abs. and a causal clause; cf. the use of *freti* in 21. 5. 12. — **capitur**: so Polybius, 3. 79, and others; see Tac. Hist. 4. 13; Juv. 10. 158. Nepos, Hann. 4, merely says that one eye was seriously weakened. For *capi*. see on 21. 58. 5.

3–7. 5. Battle of Lake Trasumennus, mainly from Polybius, 3. 80–85. with some rhetorical additions from Coelius Antipater in ch. 3. 11–14; 6. 1–4, 11, 12; 7. 1.

3. 1. **de paludibus**: instead of the more common *ex* or simple ablative of separation; cf. 23. 23. 8. *de manibus* is oftener joined with *emittere*, *extorquere*, and the like; see on 21. 48. 6. — **ubi . . . potuit**: in the neighborhood of Faesulae; for the construction, see on 21. 5. 10. — **certum . . . habuit**: for the form, see on 21. 43. 16: *pro certo*. 23. 17. 10; usually followed by the accusative and infinitive; cf. *quicquam certum adfirmare*, ch. 36. 1.

2. **consilia**. *policy;* the plural indicates the various plans and views that formed Flaminius' system of strategy and military operations; cf. 42. 29. 4, *belli pacisque consilia*. — **regionum**: commonly *locorum*. as in ch. 38. 9. — **copias**: *sources of supply*. — **in rem**. *advantageous* or *to his purpose*.

3. **Italiae**: limits *primis*. The neighborhood of Florence was surpassed in fertility only by Campania. — **inter**: inexact, as the most fertile part of Etruria did not lie between these towns. This anastrophe is not common before Tacitus except after relatives.

4. **ab consulatu**: both temporal and causal. After *non modo*, sc. *non*. A. & G. 149. e.; G. 484, R. 1; H. 552, 2. — **civilibus**: for Flaminius' career, see on 21. 63. 1.

5. **deos**: the description of Flaminius as a despiser of the gods and the account of prodigies (§ 11) come from Roman sources.

6. **Faesulas**: a geographical mistake of Livy's, who seems to have thought that Faesulae was in the southern part of Etruria. Flaminius at Arretium could not tell whether Hannibal's march

southward was directed toward Rome by the Via Cassia, or toward Perusia to intercept Servilius. The position of the two Roman armies was that which had been successful in the Gallic war, 225 B.C., when the consul who was not attacked came to the assistance of his colleague, and thus placed the enemy between two fires.

7. **Flaminius . . . sunt**: the long period is carried on by *tum vero, ratus, suadentibus*, and *iratus*. — **quieturus**: it is generally considered, even by Polybius, 3. 82, that Flaminius wished a battle at all hazards, but at the outset (see *inritare*, § 5) he remained quietly in his camp, and left it only when Hannibal had passed him. Perhaps the Greek expression of an author (Fabius Pictor ?) by which *συνάπτειν* ("to keep near," "to press on the heels of an enemy") was applied to Flaminius was misunderstood as equalling *μάχεσθαι*, or his political opponents ascribed false motives to him. — **suum**: for the emphasis, see on 21. 4. 7.

8. **omnibus**: rhetorical exaggeration; Polybius says, "some thinking." — **exspectandum**: on military grounds their advice was unjustifiable, for though Flaminius was safe in his intrenched camp, his colleague was exposed to defeat.

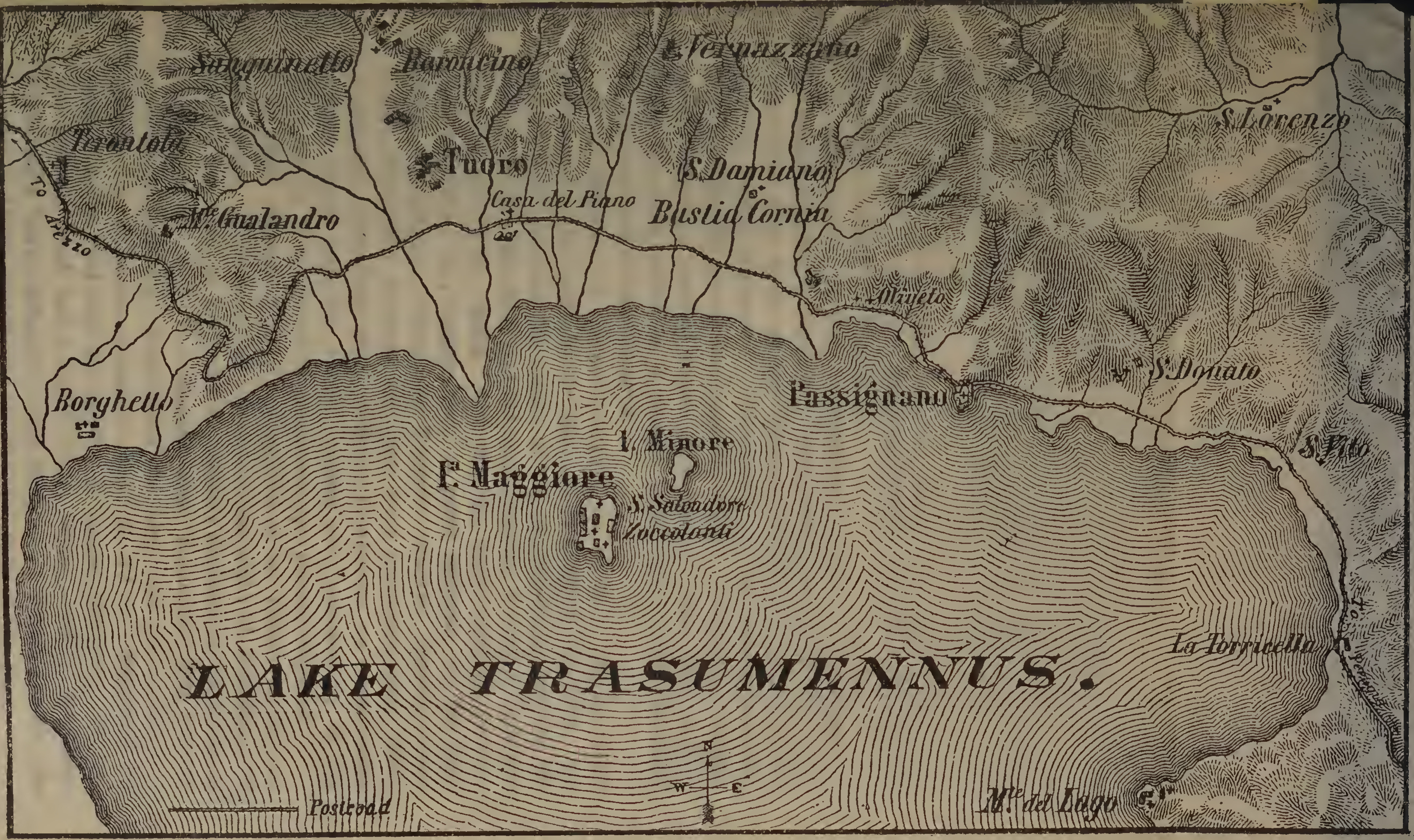
9. **signum**: the signal for march or assault was given by a trumpet; see ch. 30. 1; 21. 59. 4; for battle by a red flag, see ch. 45. 5.

10. **sedeamus**: the simple verb, in distinction from *obsidere*, gives, like *adsidere* in 21. 25. 6; 53. 6, the idea of inactivity; cf. ch. 24. 10; 56. 3. — **patria et penates**: a common alliteration. — **ab Veiis**: Camillus was at Ardea when appointed dictator, but he advanced with his army from Veii; see 5. 46. 7. — **acciverint**: future perfect.

11. **ocius**: means the quicker, the better; often in place of the unused positive without the idea of comparison as in 10. 40. 6. — **equus**: according to Plutarch, Fabius 3, and to Coelius in Cic. De Div. 1. 35. 77, this scene took place on Flaminius' departure from Rome, near the statue of Jupiter Stator. — **caput**: of the horse.

12. **circa**: for this use, see on 21. 7. 5; 19. 4. — **velut**: expresses the subjective view of the bystanders, not a doubt on the part of Livy.

13. **effodiant**: *ut* is omitted, as generally after *nuntia*, etc.; cf. ch.



To Livius B. 22, Ch. 3—7.

6. **sederat**: from *sido* = *consido;* cf. 2. 5. 3, and Suet. Aug. 97, *aquila . . . nomen Agrippae* (an inscription on a temple) *sedit.* — **pluribus collibus**: not only from the opposite heights of Mount Gualandro and above Passignano, but from the height on which Tuoro lies. — **satis conspecta**: as far as the dusk and the mist allowed. — **pariter**: so as to fall simultaneously upon the Romans.

7. **prius . . . sensit**: construe *clamore undique orto prius se circumventum esse sensit quam satis cerneret.* — **satis**: in the negative sentence, *fully;* see on 21. 47. 3. *se circumventum esse* is to be supplied, or *satis cerneret* refers without modification to § 4, *vixdum satis certa luce.* — **expediri**: anticipates *aptare* in ch. 5. 3.

5. 1. **ut in re . . . pavida**: for the use of *ut*, see on 21. 7. 7. Denotes relative, not absolute, fearlessness. Plutarch represents the consul as weak and despondent.

2. **votis**: for the sentiment see Verg. Aen. 3. 260. — **vi ac virtute**: for *ac*, see on 21. 41. 17. — **ferro**: cf. *fit via vi*, Verg. Aen. 2. 494, and *vi viam faciunt*, 4. 38. 4. — **quo . . . periculi**: the same thought occurs in Sall. Jug. 87, *fortissimum quemque tutissimum.*

3. **consilium . . . imperium**: correspond to *adhortatur* and *iubet* in § 1. — **accipi**: used figuratively of seeing and hearing. — **tantum . . . aberat, ut . . . ut**: A. & G. 332, d.; G. 556, Rem. 1; H. 502, 3. — **signa**, the maniples; **ordines**, the centuries; **locum**, the individual's place. — **caligine**: of thick fog, as in ch. 6. 8.

4. **ictus . . . armorum**, *crepitum, din of arms.* — **mixtos . . . clamores**, *the mingled cries of onset or of panic. Terrentium* refers to the Carthaginians. The genitive plural of participles is often used where we employ nouns; cf. *spirantium miraculo,* ch. 17. 5; A. & G. 113, and 188; G. 438; H. 441.

5. **fugientes . . . redeuntes**: conative, like the imperfect tense; so *adhortatur* and *iubet*, § 1.

6. **impetus capti**: so 2. 65. 5; probably an extension of the phrase *consilium capere* ("to start," and hence "to execute"), more commonly *impetus facere*, as in 6. 4. 88. — **ab lateribus**: the Romans, turning from their advance toward Tuoro, were seeking to escape by Passignano. — **a fronte**: the Baliares and light-armed. — **ab tergo**: the cavalry and the Gauls.

7. **nova de integro**: the same pleonasm in 24. 16. 2; 30. 34. 12;

and threefold in 37. 19. 5, *instauremus novum de integro bellum.* It is not to be supposed that the battle had ceased, but a new phase appeared. For the arrangement of soldiers in battle consult a classical dictionary. — **nec ut**: for *nec ita instructa ut.*

8. **ardor animorum**: cf. 8. 6. 7, *tantum ardoris animis fecit*, and 44. 36. 3. — **animus**: the threefold repetition of this word is careless rather than intentional. — **Italiae**: Coelius, in Cic. de Div. 1. 35. 78, represents the earthquake as extending to Gaul, Liguria, and the islands. — **avertit**: formed new channels, as 41. 11. 3, *amnem novo alveo avertit;* but the superstitious Coelius says, *ut flumina in contrarias partes fluxerint.*

6. 1. **Tris . . . horas**: so Coelius, whom Livy follows in the next paragraph.

2. **Eum et . . . et ipse**: one of the many anacolutha by which Livy gives vivacity to his style. — **robora virorum**: so in 21. 54. 3. Scipio Africanus, the younger (?) was the first to have a bodyguard composed of horsemen. Statements like 2. 20. 5, *manum praesidii causa circa se habebat*, transfer to earlier times the arrangements of later times.

3. **insignem**: belongs more to *petebant* than to *tuebantur.* — **noscitans**: the frequentative, common in the first decade, is elsewhere found only here and in 26. 41. 24. — **legiones**: see on 21. 3. 1, and for the fact, 21. 63. 1. — **Iam ego**: cf. 4. 19. 3, *iam ego hanc mactatam victimam legatorum Manibus dabo.*

4. **armigero**: elsewhere rather a poetic word, used by Curtius in the plural for "bodyguard." — **infesto venienti**: the personal construction is more lively, and avoids the rare *impetui;* cf. *sequentis effusos*, 21. 55. 3, and *sospiti filio*, ch. 7. 13. — **lancea**: a Celtic word. The weapon was then strange to the Romans.

5. **per . . . evadunt**, *in all directions, even over the cliffs and through defiles, as if blind, they tried to escape;* cf. 21. 32. 9. — **alii**: rare for *alius;* so in 21. 35. 12; but cf. ch. 7. 8; 19. 8.

6. **inpulerit**: perfect instead of imperfect; cf. *senserit*, ch. 5. 8, and see on 21. 1. 2. Livy never joins the indicative with *sunt qui.*

7. **inmensa**: the size of the lake, 30 miles in circuit by 8 to 10 in width, rendered escape by swimming impossible. Livy does not seem to have known of the two islands (see map). — **animis**: courage, distinct from bodily strength, to which loss *fessi* refers.

The derivation from *anima* "breath" (see 21. 58. 4) would well fit the sense if the plural could be thus used. — **trucidabantur**: Livy passes over the statement of Polybius that the Romans begged for quarter with extended hands.

8. **ex saltu**: the pass by Passignano.

9. **liquida**: has reference to the fog on the plain; *certa* in ch. 4. 4 has reference to the twilight; see 26. 17. 14. — **perditas res**: cf. 21. 61. 1, and see on 21. 1. 5.

10. **in conspectos** = *in se si conspecti essent;* cf. *cunctantem*, 21. 5. 2; *audentem* and *agentem*, ch. 39. 20 and 21.

11. **super cetera**: *super* for *praeter;* see on 21. 46. 1, and ch. 3. 14. — **extrema fames**: explained by *postero die;* not mentioned by Polybius, who implies that their capture was the same day. — **equestribus**: Polybius says the Spanish cavalry and spearmen.

12. **singulis**: often a concession at the capture of towns; see on 21. 12. 5. Here less appropriate and not mentioned by Polybius. — **Punica religione**: see on 21. 4. 9. — **omnes**: corrected by ch. 7. 5.

7. 1. **inter paucas** = *in primis* (not before Livy) modifying *memorata.* Livy does not mean that the Romans have suffered few defeats, but few such memorable ones as this. — **memorata** = *memorabilis;* so in ch. 42. 9 and 23. 44. 4; cf. *conspecta*, ch. 4. 6; *invictus*, ch. 44. 4. According to Ovid, Fasti, 6. 765, the date of the battle was June 23; actually by the reformed calendar it was two months earlier.

2. **Quindecim**: also the statement of Polybius, who speaks of 15,000 prisoners, besides the 6000 who surrendered to Maharbal, and gives the Carthaginian loss as 1500. — **decem**: if the 10,000 fugitives, not mentioned by Polybius, were safe, the loss was not much greater than it was at the Trebia; see 21. 56. 2.

3. **Multiplex**, *much greater;* used of fractional increase by a half, etc., as well as of increase by whole numbers. — **traditur**: implies doubt.

4. **auctum ex vano**, *idle exaggeration:* with reference to Valerius Antias; see 30. 19. 11. — **scribentium**: without distinction from *scriptores;* see on 21. 1. 1, and 42. 4. — **temporibus**: belongs to *aequalem,* as in 8. 40. 5, not to *auctorem habui.* Fabius is cited only on the question of loss, not as an authority for the whole war.

5. **dimissis**: see ch. 13. 2, and 58. 2. Polybius, 3. 77. 7, makes a similar statement of the prisoners at the Trebia. Hannibal wished to isolate Rome by detaching her subject peoples. — **sepeliri**: Polybius speaks only of the burial of 30 of Hannibal's chief officers, making no reference to Flaminius. — **non invenit**: Flaminius as a despiser of the gods was not worthy of the honor of burial, while Marcellus (see 27. 28. 1) received it from Hannibal. Note the irregular form for *Flaminium quoque . . . inquiri iussit, sed non invenit.*

6. **Romae**: the following description, which is picturesque rather than historically exact, is a masterpiece of rhetorical skill. The student should note the order of words with the occasional alliteration (e.g. *Pomponius praetor pugna* and *portas maior prope mulierum*), and the arrangement of details; see on 21. 16. 2.

7. **repens** = *repentina*, implying unexpectedness; cf. ch. 8. 1 and 21. 6, and 21. 26. 1. The analogous *recens* = *recenter* is used only with perfect participles; cf. 2. 22. 4. — **obvios**: used as a substantive; see on 21. 46. 2; cf. § 11; ch. 55. 4. — **contionis**: implies the orderly character of the gathering. A *contio* was called only by a superior magistrate. Polybius says that the magistrate called an assembly.

8. **solis occasu**: the note of time, unmentioned by Polybius, emphasizes the impression which must have been made upon the feelings of the anxious crowd. — **praetor**: sc. *peregrinus*, as M. Aemilius was *praetor urbanus*; see ch. 33. 8. The two additional praetors of 217 were assigned to Sicily and Sardinia; see ch. 25. 6.

10. **Quot casus**: refers to the forms of death (see ch. 6. 7) and the miseries of the fugitives. — **distracti**: marks the tension of the feelings more sharply than *dispertiti*. The oldest Ms. has the corrupt *dispraeti*. — **cuiusque**: drawn to the interrogative from its usual position with *suus*. A. & G. 202, e.; G. 305, Rem.; H. 569, 1, 2.

11. **deinceps**: used attributively, as a participle or temporal adjective (cf. 3. 39. 4), or as a local adjective (21. 8. 5, and 52. 5). The crowd of women was more noticeable from the absence of so many men in the army. Compare the account of the scenes in the city after Cannae, ch. 55. 3 and 6.

12. **cerneres**: the potential subjunctive of past actions common with *discernere* and a negative; cf. ch. 46. 3, and see on 21. 4. 3. –

nuntiabantur: Livy supposes that the returning fugitives were not only personally acquainted with those for whom inquiries were made, but could give information of their fate. — **gratulantis**, *with congratulations*. — **gaudia**, *expressions of joy*.

13. **ferunt**: Livy does not wish to be responsible for a story that does not appear in Polybius. — **alteram**: according to Pliny, N. H. 7. 53. 180, this happened after the battle of Cannae.

14. **praetores**: the *praetor urbanus* and the *praetor peregrinus*, and also T. Otacilius, to whom Sicily had been assigned; see ch. 10. 10, and 23. 21. 2.

8. 1. **consilia**: referring to *consultantes* in ch. 7. 14. — **quattuor milia**: this extraordinary force of cavalry for two legions is explained by 21. 47. 1, and from the fact that Servilius had needed more cavalry to cover the Via Flaminia than Flaminius to defend the passes of the Apennines. — **propraetore**: Nepos, Hann. 4. 3, mistakenly calls him praetor (see ch. 7. 14). He was *legatus pro praetore*. — **missa**: along the Via Flaminia which at Fulginii branched to Etruria. For the plan of operations, see ch. 3. 8. — **auditam**: see on 21. 1. 5; more emphatic than *ad famam* (cf. 21. 41. 3; 61. 4), which immediately follows. — **averterant iter**: so in ch. 9. 3; elsewhere with the meaning "abandon"; see on 21. 23. 4. — **circumventa**: another account, given by Nepos, Appian and Zonaras, represents Centenius in command of 8000 men, sent from the reserves in Rome (perhaps confused with 22. 57. 11), to defend the road to Rome at the Plestinian swamps (exact locality now unknown) in Umbria.

2. **adfecit**: applied here to the mind, as in § 3, and in 21. 39. 2 to the body. — **ex conparatione** this use of the preposition is closely allied to the instrumental ablative; cf. *coniectans ex viribus*, ch. 9. 2, and *magnitudine*, § 4.

3. **id, quod acciderat**, *the event*. — **sed**, *but that*; as if *dicere* or *putare* had preceded. For the sudden change to oratio obliqua, cf. *dimicandum esse*, § 7, and see on 21. 10. 4. — **causa**, *sickness*. — **magis**: join with *sentiretur*, not *gravior*. — **in valido**: the preposition, fallen out of the Mss., is desirable in the second member of the comparison; cf. ch. 15. 1; 60. 13; 21. 5. 3. It is not indispensable, as Fabri shows, quoting with other passages, 3. 19. 4, *non in plebe coercenda quam senatu castigando vehementior fuit*, and comparing *tamquam* in 21. 28. 8.

4. **incidérit**: instead of *incidisset*, one of those changes of tense that do not follow or require a definite rule, but denote a momentary change in the speaker's point of view; cf. *iudicaverint*, ch. 32. 8. A. & G. 287, h, n.; G. 519, Rem. — **non rerum magnitudine**, *not by its actual importance*; *rerum* is used because *quodcumque* refers to various misfortunes. — **extenuatis**: *adtenuatis* is also used: see on 21. 62. 5.

5. **iam diu**: not since 249 B.C., when A. Atilius Calatinus was dictator. — **dictatorem**: sc. *rei gerendae causa.* Dictators for holding elections had been several times appointed within a few years. For the gerundive in apposition, see on 21. 4. 3. — **Italiam**: the country between Rome and Ariminum, through which Servilius must pass. — **praetor**: the *praetor urbanus*, the usual substitute for the consul in his absence; see ch. 9. 11; 33. 9; Cic. ad Att. 9. 15. 2.

6. **dictatorem**: that Fabius was dictator and not pro-dictator, as Livy supposes in ch. 31. 8 f., and that Minucius was not *pro-magister equitum*, but was afterward co-ordinate dictator, appears from the inscription cited on ch. 25. 10. See on *nobis*, ch. 14. 9. — **Fabium**: the one whose conservative policy had delayed the declaration of war, but who had finally declared it in person in Carthage; see 21. 18. 3.

7. **fluminum**: especially the Tiber, Nar, Anio, and Liris. — **pro urbe**: the Romans could not comprehend why Hannibal did not march directly upon Rome, and believed that they were indebted to the favor of a god for his turning to Apulia; Appian, Hann. 12. The real reason is given in the note on ch. 7. 5. — **urbe ac penatibus**: so 30. 42. 19; elsewhere *patria* or *domus ac penates.* — **quando**: often strengthened by *quidem* when it has a causal meaning.

9. 1. **recto itinere**: in the direction of Rome. After leaving the road by Clusium Hannibal's shortest way was by Spoletium, the route taken now by the railroad. — **Spoletium**: the form used by Livy instead of Spoletum. The town became a Roman colony 241 B.C.

2. **perpopulato**: passive; cf. ch. 13. 1. The repeated complaint of general devastating does not harmonize with the purpose of besieging Spoletium; see on 21. 7. 4, and cf. *equites*, § 3, and Cic. Phil. 5. 9. 25, *vastationes, caedes, rapinas non faciebat, quia multa ad usum*

reservabat. — **oppugnare adortus**: a favorite expression of Livy's (cf. 2. 51. 6), implying difficulty or boldness of design. — **unius**. others had surrendered; see Zonaras, 8. 25. — **haut [minus] prospere**: *minus* is scarcely genuine. *parum* would rather have been expected, as in 7. 4. 6; 29. 2. 9. *haud prospere* are often joined, as in 6. 30. 9; strengthened by *satis* in 1. 32. 2; 8. 8. 11. — **moles**: used of a difficult task; see 21. 22. 9; 25. 11. 17, and Verg. Aen. 1. 33, *tantae molis erat Romanam condere urbem.* — **Romanae**: an unusual order justified by the connection; cf. ch. 32. 5; 37. 12; 49. 10.

3. **agrum Picenum**: so 23. 14. 3; in Cicero, *ager Picens*, which adjective Livy uses with *populus*; see 10. 10. 12. Commonly *Picenum* is a substantive. — **omnis generis**: a genitive of quality with *frugum*, hence it precedes; cf. 21. 12. 8.

4. **stativa**: Hannibal remained here for several weeks during the heat of the summer, and not only recruited his army, but, according to Polybius, 3. 87 and 88, remodelled his tactics by arming the Africans, the flower of his troops, with Roman weapons taken at the Trebia and Trasumennus, and by training them in the Roman manoeuvres; see ch. 46. 5. He also sent messengers by sea to Carthage to announce his success. — **hibernis itineribus**: referring to the attacks upon the market and Victumulae (see 21. 57. 5 f.), but especially to the attempts to cross the Apennines in early spring; see 21. 58. — **levi**, *without great loss.* — **facili**, *without hard fighting.*

5. **praeda** = the late *praedatio*; so in 3. 63. 4; 7. 16. 4. — **Marsos**: there was no name for the district; see on 21. 5. 5. — **Apuliae**: genitive with *regionem.*

6. **Servilius**, whom Livy had left at Rome (see ch. 2. 1), had gone to Ariminum to block the Via Flaminia, but on Hannibal's invading Etruria, he started to join his colleague; see ch. 8. 1 and 3; Pol. 3. 87. — **Gallis**: those who wished to throw off the Roman yoke. — **uno**: more like the indefinite article than a numeral; cf. 21. 39. 4.

9. 7—12. Dictatorship of Fabius; religious and military measures.

7. **Q. Fabius**: loudly praised by Fabius Pictor, Ennius, and Coelius, but Polybius, the friend of the Scipios, treats him more

coolly and ascribes the saving of Rome to the stability of its constitution and the fidelity of its allies. Chapters 9–18 do not therefore agree with Polybius, except in the account of Hannibal's stratagem in ch. 16 and 17. — **iterum**: first in 221 B.C., *comitiorum habendorum causa.* — **quo die**: for the attraction, see on 21. 5. 1. — **ab diis**: as generally, religious matters took precedence of political. — **caerimoniarum**: of these, Fabius Pictor, who after Cannae was sent as an envoy to Delphi, and the religious Coelius give extended reports, but Polybius hardly mentions them.

8. **deum**: the form of the genitive often joined with *ira, benignitate*, etc.; cf. 26. 41. 6; 40. 37. 2.

9. **votum**: in the report of affairs in the city in the year 218 (see 21. 62. 10) mention is made only of the general vow of the praetor Atilius; an unfulfilled vow, in ch. 33. 7.

10. **ludos magnos**: also called *Maximi* and *Romani;* established by Tarquinius Priscus after the capture of Apiolae (see 1. 35. 7–10), afterward conducted by the *aediles curules*, extended to several days, and held in the Circus. — **Erucinae**: her famous temple was on Mount Eryx. She is, perhaps, mentioned here because the possession of Sicily was at stake. — **Menti**: cf. Ov. Fasti, 6. 245, *Menti vota senatus suscipit.* The decemvirs acted at the direction of the senate; see on ch. 10. 10. — **ver sacrum**: an old Italian custom that supplanted human sacrifices. All animals born in the spring were sacrificed (see ch. 10. 3), and all boys and girls born then were obliged, on reaching their twentieth year, to give up their civil life; i.e. to go forth from their country to seek a new home. This last provision was not made at this time. — **in . . . statu**: Livy both says *in statu esse, stare* (see 42. 28. 8), and also omits the preposition; see 21. 62. 10; 30. 2. 8, and 27. 11; *status* refers first of all to extent of dominion.

10. 2. **Velitis iubeatisne**: asyndeton common in the old official style; cf. 21. 17. 4, and the forms *Juppiter Optimus Maximus, forte fortuna;* see on 21. 63. 9. *ne*, because *rogo* is to be supplied. — **sicut**, etc.: corresponds to the form *rem publicam salvam esse;* see appendix. — **quod duellum**: for the attraction, see on 21. 5. 1; cf. 21. 17. 4, and Cic. in Cat. 3. 10. 25, *in hoc bello quale bellum nulla barbaria gessit, quo in bello*, etc., and also ch. 9. 7. *duellum* is the old form of *bellum*, showing its relation in origin to

duo. — **tum**: in the conclusion of a condition, as in ch. 53. 11 and 36. 2. 4, *si duellum confectum erit . . . tum . . . dona dabuntur.* — **duit**: pres. subj. of *dare;* cf. 10. 19. 17. The alliteration is common in old formulas.

3. **profana**, *unconsecrated* to another deity. — **fieri** = *sacrificare*, as shown by the added dative and the following *fecere*. It is a kind of appositive to *donum* instead of a gerundive construction. — **ex qua die**: according to 34. 44. 3, the *ver sacrum* extended from the first day of March to the last day of April.

4. **lege** = *ritu, method of sacrifice;* so *probe* = *rite, recte.* —**faxit**: fut. perf. of *facio*, A. & G. 142; G. 191, 5; H. 240, 4. — **neque** = *et ne;* so in 21. 22. 6.

5. **rumpet**, *wounds;* a legal term for wounds of every description. — **fraus**, *detriment;* cf. Cic. de Leg. 3. 4. 11, *quid turbassitur in agendo, fraus actoris esto.* — **clepsit**: fut. perf. from archaic *clepere*, κλέπτειν.

6. **atro die**, *unlucky day;* one on which important religious or political acts could not be begun. Such (Gell. 5. 17. 1) were all days following the Kalends, Nones, and Ides, and also anniversaries of disasters, like Allia or Cannae. They were commonly called *nefasti;* see Hor. Od. 2. 13. 1. — **si . . . sive**: ante classical for *sive . . . sive.* — **antidea**: archaic, like *postidea, antidhac,* from an early ablative form *antid* = *ante;* cf. *reditus, seditio,* from *red, sed,* and *ire.* The use with *ac* is analogous to expressions of equality and difference. The archaic Latin shows plainly that Livy took his information, not from Fabius, who wrote in Greek, but from Coelius. — **faxitur**: fut. perf. passive, corresponding with *faxit.* See Allen's *Early Latin*, sec. 163, for the above passage.

7. **aeris**: sc. *assium.* These were the "heavy asses," not those of the reduction of 217 B.C.; see on 21. 41. 6, and see Plin. N. H. 33. 3. 45. — **trecentis**: for the sacred character of the number three see the prophecy in Verg. Aen. 1. 265 f., by which Aeneas was to reign 3 years, Iulus 30, and the sovereignty of Alba continue 300, in all 333 years to the founding of Rome; see on ch. 1. 15. The abl. is instrumental; sc. *fieri.*

8. **edicta**: the official expression of announcements by the praetor; of the senate *indicta*, see 21. 62. 9. — **quos . . . cura**: *who were beginning to feel the danger to the state as soon as their own fortunes*

were affected; i.e. patriotism, as well as personal interests, influenced them. Their private affairs, *fortuna*, were at stake, but they also thought of the state. — **publica** = *rei publicae.*

9. **Iovi**: the dative depends on *strata*, to be supplied. Minerva, as one of the three deities of the Capitoline, is elsewhere associated with the first pair, but here, according to Greek views, joined with Poseidon. Mars and Venus are joined, like Ares and Aphrodite; Apollo and Diana (in 5. 13. 6, with their mother Latona) are on one couch. The next pair are the deities of fire and the hearth, and the last of trade and agriculture; and the six pairs form the circle of the twelve Olympian gods.

10. **vovit**: both temples were consecrated in 215 B.C.; see 23. 31. 9.

11. 1. **peractis**: not at the conclusion of the debate, but after the performance of the ceremonies and the making of the vows; compare ch. 9. 8; with *mature*, ch. 9. 11. — **tum**, *then only*, or *then first.* — **deque**: *que* is regularly joined with monosyllabic prepositions if the same preposition has preceded; cf. ch. 28. 14; 31. 5. 4. — **quotve**: perhaps *quotque* should be read.

2. **exercitum**: two legions besides the half of the remnants of the army of 218 B.C. — **equitum**: first by emphasis. Servilius' legions had lost their cavalry; see 21. 17. 2. — **e re publica**, *for the good of the state.* In this singular, though common adverbial phrase, *ex* is never used.

3. **duas**: to supply the place of those of Flaminius, so that the army might again consist of four legions. Polybius' statement, 3. 89, that four new legions were enrolled, is explained by counting the two retained for the garrison of the city and for service on the fleet, § 9. — **Tibur**: depends on *edixit*, or perhaps on the whole expression, *diem ad conveniendum edixit;* "the verb has a double object, one of the time *diem ad conveniendum*, and the other of the place." T.; cf. 35. 25. 4, *Sicyonem concilium edixerunt;* 38. 30. 4, *Argos conventum edixit;* and 23. 31. 3, and 32. 14.

4. **ut . . . ut ii**: Livy often repeats the conjunction after an inserted clause for emphasis or clearness; cf. 21. 49. 8. — **castella**: places, like hill-tops, of natural strength. — **inmunita**: negative. — **corruptis**: according to Fabius Pictor, it was a marked feature of the dictator's policy to subdue Hannibal by cutting off his supplies; see ch. 16. 3 and 4.

5. **exercitu**: dative; cf. *dilectu*, ch. 2. 1. — **Ocriculum**: Polybius says (3. 89) that the meeting took place in Daunia. — **viatorem**: a term applied to messengers in the city. We should have expected *lictorem*. — **sine lictoribus**: because he was under the *imperium* of the dictator. A similar scene between the Fabii, father and son, is reported in Plut. Apoph. Fabius, 7.

6. **vetustate**: for the fact, see on ch. 8. 5, and cf. 2. 35. 8. — **exercitum**: two legions under Cn. Scipio, brother of the consul of 218 B.C.; see 21. 60. — **Cosanum**: half way between Ostia and Pisa. Vessels followed the coast by Pisa, Massilia, and Emporiae.

7. **ad urbem**: at the *navalia*. Together with the levy of troops for 217, sixty quinqueremes had been equipped. — **urbem Romanam**: the usual order in Livy; see on ch. 9. 2.

8. **libertini**: they were not employed in the legions till the Social war in 89 B.C. The service here was but temporary in making up the crews of the 120 quinqueremes, which according to Polybius were manned, and the enrollment was restricted to those who had children, in the belief that love of children would lead to fidelity where patriotism might fail. — **aetas militaris**: from assuming the *toga virilis* to the 46th year; see 25. 5. 7. — **in verba**: the accusative because the recruits repeated the words of the oath after the consul; see ch. 10. 2, where the magistrate repeats a formula.

9. **minores . . . annis**: cf. our "less than thirty-five." A. & G. 247; G. 311, 4; H. 417, footnote 4. — **praesiderent** = *praesidio essent* or *praesidium agerent*.

12. 1. **a . . . legato**: because the consul had already (ch. 11. 7) gone to Ostia; see 21. 39. 3. Sometimes *per legatum*. — **transversis limitibus**, *cross-roads* in distinction from *viae*, the great main lines. — **egressus**, *came out*, from the hill towns like Tibur and Praeneste upon the road where he must expect to meet Hannibal. — **summa cum cura**: as in ch. 3. 2; so in Cicero. In Curtius, Seneca, and Pliny, also *summa cura*. — **nisi . . . cogeret**: a conditional clause joined with the future active participle is first found in Livy; cf. 21. 17. 6.

3. **Arpis**: see ch. 9. 5. Polybius says they met at Aecae. — **nulla . . . educeret**, *without delay the Carthaginians*, etc. This chapter affords an unusual number of instances of Livy's power of concrete and condensed description, §§ 4, 5, 8, 9, 11.

4. **Martios**: so 38. 17. 18, *vobis, Martiis viris.*

5. **ceterum** (see on 21. 5. 1): corresponds to *quidem*, § 4, as *tacita* to *increpans.* — **incessit**, *seized;* often used of the feelings, e.g. *timor*, cf. 1. 17. 4; *indignatio*, 3. 60. 8; *maestitia*, 29. 3. 9. — **Flaminii**: for the genitive, see on 21. 54. 3. — **edocti**: for the meaning, see on 21. 34. 2. — **parem**: betrays the influence of Fabius, who placed the dictator on a par with, or above Hannibal.

6. **prudentiam**: in opposition to the *temeritas* of Minucius (see § 12 and ch. 29. 1), and in general to the unjustly condemned leaders of the popular party, Sempronius, Flaminius, and Varro. So Diodorus, 26. 3. 3. — **hauddum**: Livian for *nondum.*

7. **flexu**: corresponding to the expression *flectere iter.* — **si**, *to see if* or *if perhaps;* common in Livy; cf. ch. 13. 1. — **occultus**: in the undergrowth or woods.

8. **Fabius**: *sed* or *at* is not needed as *loca alta* expresses the opposition to *in aequom.* — **usus**: i.e. need of water and of forage. For the plural, cf. ch. 3. 2, and 5. 47. 8. — **ligna**, *fuel;* in opposition to *materia*, "timber." Note the connection of the adjective and the adverb, *nec pauci . . . nec passim.*

9. **statio**: a *picket* in front of the camp; cf. ch. 45. 3.

10. **universo periculo . . . committebatur**, *nor was everything staked on a decisive battle;* see ch. 32. 2. — **momenta**: slight successes which gave them courage and were makeweights (*movimenta*) in turning the scale of fortune; see on 21. 43. 11. — **finitimo**: implies a greater distance than *propinquo.* — **paenitere**, *to be dissatisfied with.* Here almost a personal verb; cf. *si paenitere possint*, 36. 22. 3.

11. **non . . . magis . . . quam**: throws the weight onto the second clause; so in ch. 19. 11. The wisdom of his policy found a more dangerous opponent in the master of horse than in Hannibal. — **consiliis**: for the meaning, see on ch. 3. 2.

12. **Ferox**, *headstrong;* explained by the following; see on 21. 54. 6. — **lingua inmodicus**: so Tac. Hist. 3. 53. Sallust and Tacitus have *animi inmodicus.* — **cunctatore**: Fabius' subsequent title. — **cauto timidum**: a standing antithesis; see ch. 14. 14; 39. 20. So the proverb, *timidus vocat se cautum, parcum sordidus.* — **premendo**: so in ch. 59. 10. — **crevit**: Livy perhaps had in mind Marius' behavior toward Metellus; see Sall. Jug. 64. 5.

13. 1. **Hirpinis**: dwellers in Southern Samnium. Livy, however, seems to have considered that they lived beyond the Apennines (*transit*), or at least that they did not belong to the Samnites. The league of the Samnites had been broken on their subjugation by the Romans. Hannibal's march toward Rome was a strategic move, perhaps for the purpose of forcing a battle, but certainly to advance his policy of separating Rome from her allies. — **ducem**: perhaps *dictatorem*, though one would have expected *Romanum* or the mention of Roman soldiers, to which *ducem* would form an antithesis. — **cladibus**: often of wasting and plundering. — **aecum certamen**: on the level ground, hence *detrahere*.

2. **dimissi**: i.e. without ransom, as in ch. 7. 5.

3. **nuntiantes**: Hannibal's policy of forming a Carthaginian party among the allies of Rome seems thus to have been partially successful. He had spies even in Rome. — **potiendae**: gerundive because *potiri* at an earlier time governed the accusative; cf. 21. 45. 9; A. & G. 296, R.; G. 405, R. 1; H. 421, n. 4. — **auctores**: Hannibal wished for more than three witnesses, and besides the knights he wished for *principes* also, members of the aristocratic party that favored Rome. Observe the brachylogy of the expression. — **alternis**: adverbial, sc. *vicibus*. It is also sometimes used with an omitted *diebus*, as in ch. 41. 3. — **fidentem**: sc. *dictis* from *nuntiantes*. The expression explains *dubium*. — **tamen**: contrasting an adjective with the main verb, as in ch. 2. 11. — **moverunt**: Polybius, 3. 91, states other reasons of Hannibal. He expected either to force a battle or else gain a confession of victory, and by securing all the open country persuade the cities to revolt from Rome.

4. **etiam atque etiam**: often with *monere*, as in 29. 24. 3, *considerare, curare, reputare*, etc.; they cannot belong to the dependent clause, hence *ut* is to be omitted (21. 49. 6) or read before *promissa*. Weissenborn, however, takes the words with *promissa*. — **aliquibus**: more often the form *aliquis*, as in 26. 15. 3.

5. **duci**, *guide*; see § 9. — **agrum Casinatem**: he would there block the via Latina, but the via Appia would still give Rome communication with the south. The name still remains in *Monte Casino*, on which is the famous Benedictine monastery. — **edoctus**: often said of things which one cannot know by himself, but must

learn from others (see on 21. 27. 4, and 32. 10), while *docere* is to correct an incomplete or incorrect impression. — **exitum**: an advance toward Campania; not differing essentially from *aditum*.

6. **os**, *tongue*. — **suo itinere**, *the right route*. — **campum Stellatem**: a part of the *ager Campanus* north of the Volturnus.

7. **circumspexisset** = *circumspiciendo vidisset*; so 37. 41. 4; elsewhere commonly like *circumspectare*, "to look about with anxiety"; cf. ch. 15. 2, *locum hibernis*; 29. 3, *fugam*; 21. 39. 5, *defectionis tempus*; 53. 11, *locum*. — **ubi terrarum**: A. & G. 216, 4; G. 371, 4; H., p. 209, footnote 3.

8. **mansurum**, *would spend the night*; a common meaning of *manere*, frequent in Cicero's letters, hence *mansio*; Fr. *maison*.

9. **reliquorum**: they had not been asked. Plutarch, Fabius 6, speaks of several. — **agrum Falernum**: north of the *ager Stellatis*; renowned for its excellent wines.

10. **aquas Sinuessanas**: celebrated medicinal warm springs. The Carthaginian cavalry must have passed beyond the Massic range. — **populatio**: following *praedatum*, since *praedatio* was not used by Livy or earlier writers, and the supine *populatum* was also rarely used, and not by Livy (see on ch. 21. 3). — **latius**: the people fled even from districts where the Numidians did not come.

11. **videlicet**, *plainly*; not ironical, as in 21. 63. 10 and often. — **melioribus parere**: patriotic and rhetorical rather than historically true, though the Roman dominion in Italy was not nearly so oppressive before as after the second Punic war.

14. 1. **exurebatur**: for the tense, see on 21. 28. 4. — **Massici**: just where Fabius was is not clear, since Hannibal's troops were plundering both on the west (Sinuessa) and the east. The account of the advance and retreat also exhibits other geographical difficulties and errors. — **de integro**: refers to ch. 12. 12. — **seditio accensa**: so *discordia*, 2. 29. 8, and often *proelium*, *pugna*, *certamen*, as in 21. 59. 8. The personal construction is also used, *accendi odio*, *ira*, *spe*, etc., as in ch. 13. 1, and therefore some read here *seditione accensi*.

2. **celerius**: in order to occupy the passes between Campania and Latium.

3. **ut vero**, *but when at last*; the repetition of the words is a rhetorical blemish. — **extrema**: next the sea, or above the plain.

4. **inquit**: to those mentioned in § 15. — **caedes**: rhetorical exaggeration, since the inhabitants had fled; see ch. 13. 9 and 10. — **alterius**: the regular substitute for the genitive of *alius*, as in 21. 13. 3. Note the negatives in which *ne . . . quidem* repeats *nec.* — **patres**: for *maiores*, since the colony had been founded eighty years before, in 296 B.C.; see 10. 21. 8.

5. **Samnite**: adjective, as in § 12, but *Samnis* following is a substantive and *advena* an adjective corresponding to *vicinus;* cf. 21. 30. 8. Note the chiasmus. — **extremis**: perhaps Minucius knew of Hannibal's visit to Gades before setting out for Italy; see 21. 21. 9 and 30. 4. — **nostra**: not *Fabii*, because all, as citizens of the republic, shared the responsibility.

6. **pro**: as interjection rarely used absolutely as here; usually with the vocative, *pro sancte Juppiter*, with the accusative, *pro deum fidem.* — **degeneramus**: i.e. the tide of degeneracy is not yet stemmed. — **nuper**: antithetic to *nunc.* As to the implied exclusion of the Carthaginians from Italy by treaty, see on 21. 10. 8.

7. **ciebamus**: *we were arousing = called upon;* cf. 5. 14. 2, *non homines modo, sed deos etiam exciebant.* — **coloniae**: i.e. Sinuessa. — **laeti**: corresponds to *fruendam* in § 4, and is perhaps to be regarded as a question. Some read *lenti.*

8. **oculos atque ora**: the reverse order is more common. — **saepius nos**: a stronger contrast would be *nostram.* — **nos hic**, *while we*, adversative asyndeton. — **pecorum modo**: join with *exercitum.* A simile not displeasing to the ancients; see Sall. Cat. 58 *ad fin.* — **aestivos saltus**, *summer pastures;* wooded heights to which in summer the cattle were driven from the plains. — **callis**: the winding paths of the cattle. In Livy *callis* is always feminine.

9. **nobis**, *by us;* since in ch. 8. 6 he was chosen by the people; also *for us*, since he was chosen for our safety; so in Cic. de Off. 3. 9. 38, *honesta bonis viris quaeruntur* and often. — **unicus**: as against the two consuls (see ch. 27. 3), but with the ironical implication that the dictator is without a peer. In common speech *unus* sank to an indefinite article (cf. ch. 9. 6), and *unicus* took the place of the numeral; cf. 21. 11. 12.

11. **vir . . . Romanus**, *man and true Roman that he was;* cf. 7. 13. 9, *ut viris ac Romanis dignum sit.* — **descendit in aecum**: scornful reference to Fabius, who stayed upon the heights, while Camillus

did not stay upon the Janiculan, the highest of the hills at Rome, but offered battle in the plain. — **busta Gallica**, *the Gauls' burying-ground*, near the Carinae; so called from the Gauls who were burned and buried there; see 5. 48. 3; Varro, de Ling. Lat. 5. 157, *locus ad busta Gallica, quod Roma recuperata Gallorum ossa ibi consepta.*

12. **quid**: a word of many meanings, like the English "well"; here it is intensive, "again," or "further." The following example is later than that of Camillus, and the latest is in § 13.

13. **Modo**, like *nuper*, has a relative application. The victory of Lutatius was twenty-four years before, in 241 B.C., off the Aegates Islands. *modo* in § 7 refers to a time only two years previous.

14. **sedendo**: perhaps with a play on the saying of Varro de Re Rust. I. 2. 2, *Romanus sedendo vincit.* For the combination of noun and gerund, see 21. 35. 5. — **votis**: the excessive piety of Fabius is opposed to the irreligiousness of Flaminius; see ch. 7. 5, and also 5. 2. — **debellari credere posse**: when three dependent infinitives are used together, one of them must be an auxiliary verb. T.

15. **contionanti**: cf. *contionabundus*, 21. 53. 6. — **tribunorum**: Polybius (3. 93) represents Minucius as the mouthpiece of the officers. — **equitum**: not simply the knights in service, but the body of knights as a whole. — **quoque**: belongs to *militum* and not as usual to the preceding word. The English "too" is often similarly transposed. — **evolvebantur**: from narrower to wider circles. — **militaris suffragii**: so of the Carthaginians in 21. 3. 1.

15. 1. **pariter**, *without distinction;* modal, not temporal, like *iuxta intentus*, 23. 28. 3, and often; carried on by *haud minus quam*, which join *suos* and *hostes*, and exhibit Livy's *ubertas dicendi.* — **in suos**: instead of the dative; so 2. 33. 6, *in oppidanos intentus.* — **invictum . . . praestat**: he maintains an unflinching attitude toward all; see ch. 26. 7. — **probe scit**: so in 29. 17. 1, and often; synonymous with *satis* in § 3. — **iam etiam**, *now also*, since in the interval the disaffection had spread from the camp to the city. — **consiliorum**, *plan of operations;* cf. ch. 3. 2; 12. 11.

2. **perpetuae**: not for the year, but only for the summer. — **arbusta vineaeque**: appositive to *regio;* instead of *arbustis vineisque consita.* — **magis**: because *necessarius* forms no comparative. — **amoenis . . . fructibus**: fruits; **necessariis**: grain. The account is exaggerated, as Hannibal wintered at Capua in 216–215.

3. **Calliculam**: probably a diminutive of *callis*, as the mountains of Campania were called *calles;* see Tac. Ann. 4. 27. It is here to be understood of a pass. — **Casilinum**: celebrated for its stubborn defence against Hannibal in 216; see 23. 17–19. The modern Capua occupies nearly the same site. — **modicis**, *sufficient;* see on 21. 61. 4.

4. **dirempta**: used of forcible division, implies that the trade of the two portions of the city was hindered by the river (see 42. 39. 3), while *dividit* indicates that Casilinum was the border town of the two districts. — **exploratum**: Polybius does not mention this reconnaissance.

5. **prospexit**: because in the beginning Mancinus kept at a distance. *vidit*, which is usually supplied, does not express this idea, and makes a disagreeable assonance with *occidit.*

7. **ipsa**, *almost to the very camp.* — **pertraxere**, *enticed;* not used before Livy; also in 21. 54. 4.

8. **Inde**: either local or temporal = *deinde.* — **ad . . . teli**, *within range.* The singular is used collectively; so in ch. 29. 4. — **avertisset**: sc. *in fugam*, expressed in ch. 19. 11.

9. **in proelium rediit**, *turned for battle. in* here denotes purpose. — **omni parte virium**, *in all respects.* Livy gives the common expression *pars* (see ch. 19. 3) an unusual turn. Not only were Mancinus' forces inferior in numbers, but both men and horses were exhausted.

10. **delecti equitum**: as if they were a kind of guard; see ch. 6. 2; 49. 1; and 21. 54. 3.

15. 11—**18**. Hannibal enclosed at Casilinum. Retreat to Apulia. Livy follows Polybius (3. 92–94), especially in the account of Hannibal's stratagem.

11. **saltum**: the occupation of the pass of Lautulae (7. 39. 7) agrees with the view that a part of the Carthaginian troops had passed the Massicus to Sinuessa; see ch. 14. 1. — **inminet**: often denotes nearness, not height; cf. 21. 49. 1. — **ab Sinuessa**: by way of Minturnae.

12. **exercitibus**: Minucius did not receive a separate command till ch. 27. 10, and Polybius does not speak of any division of forces. — **Duo**: unusually near; see 21. 45. 3.

16. 2. **aequiore**: according to Polybius, 3. 93, and Appian, Hann.

14, Fabius encamped on a hill commanding the pass. — **expeditis**: commonly with the addition of *pedites* or *milites*, referring to the bowmen and slingers who were most conveniently employed in broken country; but the adjective is also used of cavalry, as in ch. 2. 4; 55. 4. — **Carptim**: repeated attacks by small detachments. — **Poeni**: the repetition of the same substantive in a different number occurs elsewhere. — **procursando**, etc.: the Numidian's customary mode of fighting; see Sall. Jug. 50. — **suo loco**: its former favorable position; cf. *suo* in ch. 13. 6.

3. **ab Romanis**, *on the side of; de*, *ex*, and *in*, but not *ab*, with the ablative, are used instead of a partitive genitive; cf. 27. 14. 3, *sinistra ala ab Romanis in prima acie pugnabat.*

4. **Inclusus . . . videri**: not in fact, since the road from Suessula to Caudium was open. — **commeatus**: see on *corruptis*, ch. 11. 4. — **Formiana**: shows that Hannibal was not restricted to the south slope of Massicus; see ch. 14. 1. — **stagnaque**: closely joined with *Literni*, therefore not the swamps of Minturnae, but of Liternum. — **per horridas silvas**: which he used as a place of encampment, while *inter* denotes the limits within which he could move. Livy probably had in mind the Silva Gallinaria, a pine forest between Cumae and the Volturnus, which under the empire had an evil reputation as the lurking-place of banditti: see Cic. Epist. ad Fam. 9. 23. — **suis . . . artibus**: those in which craftiness appeared; see on 21. 4. 9.

6. **ludibrium . . . hostem**, *a frightful stratagem to deceive the eyes of the enemy;* cf. 24. 44. 8, where the same words are used of imaginary sights taken as omens.

7. **consilii**: the Spaniards are said to have employed a similar stratagem against Hamilcar; Appian, Spain 5. — **fasces**, etc.: resinous wood collected from the forest, rather than the fields; see 6. 10. 4. — **indomitos**: those under three or four years old, not yet broken to the yoke. — **Hasdrubali**: the chief of the commissary department. — **id armentum**: this was divided afterward into several herds; see ch. 17. 2 and 4. — **accensis cornibus**: a bold hypallage for *accensis in cornibus facibus;* Sil. Ital. 7. 333 has *accensa immittere silvis armenta.*

17. 2. **ipse**: in addition to the urgency of the drivers. — **ad imaque**: *adque* is avoided; cf. *ac super se*, § 4. *que* is not joined

to *ad* as to some other prepositions; e.g. 37. 31. 7, *ad traiciendasque;* Cic. Ep. ad Fam. 12. 17. 2, *ad teque;* Nepos, Dat. 7. 1, *ad regemque;* Tac. Hist. 3. 50, *ad omniaque.*

3. **repente**: cf. the use of *circa*, § 3, ch. 3. 12, and see on 21. 7. 5. — **haud secus quam**: used like *tamquam*, *velut*, etc. with the abl. abs. — **virgulta**: the *virgae* of ch. 16. 7, there distinguished from *faces*, now bursting into flame from the motion; cf. 21. 8. 12. The statement (Plutarch, Zonaras) that the woods actually took fire may have arisen from a misunderstanding of ὕλη. If, however, as is commonly taken, *virgulta* refers to the vegetation on the mountain, the proposed reading, *visa ardere*, is better; cf. 3. 5. 14, *caelum visum est ardere.* — **inrita**: ineffectual in shaking off the torches.

4. **locati**: 4000 men according to Polybius and Appian; see ch. 15. 4. — **praesidio**, *their post;* see on 21. 57. 8. — **tamen**: as in ch. 13. 3.

5. **flammas spirantium**, *fire-breathing creatures* (like dragons). The participle is purposely used to avoid a definite substantive; see Näg. 29. 2. The impression of supernatural creatures is opposed to *humana fraus* of § 5. — **insidias rati**: but in § 4 Livy said *circumventos se esse rati.* The account is singularly confused, and Livy evidently was seeking not so much for exactness of statement as for picturesque and vivid description.

6. **levi . . . armaturae**: the escort of the cattle-drivers. — **incurrere**: occasionally with *alicui*, oftener with *in aliquem*, meaning to "fall upon," to "attack." Here as shown by *timor* it is used of accidental meeting, to vary the *incidere* of § 4. *occurrere* has the same double use. — **neutros . . . tenuit**: for *utrosque ita tenuit ut proelium non inciperent.* A singular transfer of the negative from the subordinate to the main clause. Why the Carthaginians should be afraid is not clear, unless they thought the stratagem unsuccessful.

7. **Hannibal**: for the position, see on 21. 31. 9, and cf. 48. 5. — **Allifano**: according to this Hannibal must have returned by the same road by which he came; see ch. 15. 3.

18. 2. **suis**: i.e. the Carthaginians. *suis* is carelessly referred to *armaturam* instead of to the subject; similarly in § 7, and ch. 17. 4, and often. — **etenim**: this strengthened form contrasts more sharply the preceding *suis* and the subject of *praestabant;* i.e. *Ro-*

mani. — **aliquantum**: joined with *praestare*, *eminere*, etc. in 5. 23. 4; 36. 4 and 6; 42. 52. 10. *multo praestare* is also found; the ablative is preferred with comparatives. — **Hispanorum**: perhaps Celtiberians; see 21. 43. 8; 57. 5. — **supervenisset**: the same verb in 28. 33. 5, *nisi equites supervenissent*, and 34. 29. 10. *subvenire* is similarly used in 31. 30. 9; 33. 5. 2.

3. **adsuetior . . . aptior**: chiasmus. — **campestrem**: *accustomed to fighting on the plain.* — **statarium**: in 9. 19. 8 used of the Macedonian phalanx and the Roman legion, and explained by *ordines servans*, in opposition to the mobility of light troops. — **elusit**: for the meaning, see on 21. 50. 2.

4. **aliquot**: Polybius, 3. 94, says there were about a thousand.

5. **movit castra**: referring back to *posuit castra* in ch. 17. 7. — **super Allifas**: join with *consedit.* — **munito**: strong by nature, in opposition to *opere*, *moenibus*, *arte munita;* and different from *castra communiit* (§ 7) because the dictator was to be absent a long time from the army.

6. **absistens**: commonly means "ceasing to do something," as in 21. 6. 8, but here, as in 27. 42. 17, *nunquam vestigiis hostis abstiterat*, synonymous with *e manibus emittere* in ch. 3. 10, and *omittere* in ch. 12. 8. *ab eo* is omitted because a different form must be used with *congrediens.*

7. **Gereonium**: in the country of the Frentani, south of Larinum. — **desertam**: Polybius says there was a short siege; see ch. 23. 9.

8. **Inde**: Polybius says that Fabius went to Rome from Samnium, and that the Roman army was led to Larinum by Minucius. — **agens**: often used with *vi* and *precibus*, is here joined by zeugma with *imperio.* — **confidat . . . imitetur . . . censeret**: the two first verbs are joined with *agens*, like ordinary final clauses; while *censeret* becomes the formal *oratio obliqua*, with the proper tense in a historical sequence.

9. **ludificationem**: see on *eludere*, 21. 50. 2. — **quiete**, *by doing nothing;* opposed to *movendo atque agendo, active treatment*, assisting nature.

10. **desisse**: often with a passive infinitive, as in ch. 34. 8; *desitum*, with an infinitive only in the neuter, as in 34. 41. 5. — **haec**: sums up the preceding statements, and, with a slight anacoluthon

in the use of the perfect participle, allows *est profectus* to be the predicate of the period. The departure of Fabius is skilfully employed to interrupt the story of affairs in Italy, which is taken up again in ch. 23.

19–22. Events in Spain during the summer of 217 B.C. In general, after Polybius, excepting 20. 4—21. 8, which come from Roman sources, and begin at the point where Polybius breaks his narrative to give a brief review of affairs in Carthage and in Italy.

19. 1. **aestatis**: the campaign in Spain began later than that in Italy; see ch. 1. 1.—**haec**: the operations of Fabius.—**numerum**: thirty-seven; see 21. 22. 4.

3. **ita**: i.e. having done this.—**Carthagine**: i.e. *nova Carthagine*. For the abl. without the preposition, cf. 23. 43. 6, and 24. 12. 3.—**quacumque** = *utracumque;* cf. *quae*, ch. 23. 6. For *parte*, see on 21. 17. 8.

4. **Scipio**: not *Scipioni*. For this attraction of the main subject, see on 21. 18. 3.—**propter**: this reason is not given by Polybius; see 21. 61. 4.—**ad naves**: join with *delecto; inposito* is used absolutely, like the English "embarked."—**ire . . . pergit**: expresses the prompt execution of a sudden determination; commonly, therefore, in the historical present; cf. ch. 22. 4; 53. 9; 21. 57. 9. The idea of continuous action is not always contained in the word, and is emphatically expressed by *porro;* see 21. 22. 9.

5. **Massiliensium**: see on 21. 20. 8.—**speculatoriae**: sc. *naves*, as often with *oneraria, liburnica, celox*.

6. **terrore**: produced by the sight of an enemy's fleet close at hand and in battle order.—**vadit**: see on *constitisset*, 21. 36. 3.—**Multas et . . . positas**: we omit the conjunction. A. & G. 208, 3, c; G. 483; H. 440, I. n.—**turris**: see on 21. 49. 10. The statement is different in Polybius, who says that Hasdrubal had full notice of the approach of the Romans, and was prepared to meet them with both land forces and fleet. He ascribes the defeat of the Carthaginians to a lack of bravery.

7. **Inde**: from the tower, before the fleet was visible to the army.—**exaudito**: *heard from a distance*.—**aperientibus**: a bold expression, as if the headlands were movable. We speak of a promontory as "closing," but not as "opening," a view. Note the difference in ch. 6. 9.

8. **eques**, etc.: an addition by Livy. *eques* is joined with *iubet*, as the singular is strengthened by *missus.* — **nihil minus quam**: a favorite combination with Livy. — **propere**: join with both infinitives. — **procul**: perhaps not found with the simple ablative in prose before Livy: cf. 21. 7. 6; with *ab*, 21. 21. 11. — **passim**, *in all directions;* often synonymous with *longe lateque*, as in 21. 7. 4, and joined especially with *multi*, *totus*, etc.; cf. ch. 12. 8.

10. **oris**: the ships were drawn to the shore, to which the sterns were made fast by cables (*oris*), while the prows were held by anchor lines (*ancoralia*). This expression is an adaptation of *oram resolvere*, "to cast off from shore." — **in ancoras evehuntur**, *rushed to the anchors*, to take them up; synonymous with *ruere*, § 9, and indicates the disorderly character of the action, since some actually cut the ropes. The word is often joined with *temere*, *incaute*, *inconsulte*, as in ch. 43. 1. — **agendo**: note that the agent of the gerund here is not the subject of *inpediuntur;* cf. 21. 5. 5. The abl. is modal. — **apparatu**: verbal; see on 21. 7. 6. For *se parare* or *parari*, used of preparation for battle, see on 21. 53. 7. *paratus* is avoided, as *miratio* in 21. 3. 4. — **aptare arma**, as in ch. 5. 3.

11. **derexerat**: the same verb in ch. 43. 11; 44. 4; 45. 4. — **non . . . magis . . . quam**: see on ch. 12. 11.

12. **adversi**, *in the rear;* cf. 21. 27. 2 and 31. 2. — **vadis**: local abl., as with *accipere* and *recipere*, but the place is also the means; cf. ch. 52. 7. — **suppressae**: rhetorical exaggeration, since Livy's authority (Polybius) says that the oars and the arms were lost.

20. 1. **in**: with the ablative of *totus* the preposition *in* is used or omitted indifferently; with *omnis* it is generally used. T.

2. **quae non**, *except those which.* Some were unseaworthy, some immovable.

3. **Neque** = *neque tamen, and this was not.* — **mari**: sc. *Baliarico.*

4. **Itaque**, etc.: the following account of predatory warfare is not in agreement with Polybius or with Livy's own statements of the clemency of the Scipios; see ch. 22. 20, and 21. 60. 4. — **Onusam**: see on 21. 22. 5. — **escensio**: the loose construction betrays an annalistic (Roman) source. — **captam**: see on 21. 55. 11.

6. **Longunticam**: probably south of Carthage, in the *campus Spartarius*, which extended a hundred miles along the coast; Plin. N. H. 19. 2. 30. — **sparti**: a kind of broom, *stifa tenacissima*, which

at a later time became an important article of export. — **erat**: accords with *ubi*; if, on the other hand, it were placed before *ab Hasdrubale*, one would have expected *quo*, as in 21. 48. 9, *quo magnum numerum frumenti congesserant*. — **sublato**: abl. abs. with *quod . . . fuit*; A. & G. 255, b; G. 438, R. 2; H. 431, 4, n. 1.

7. **praelecta est ora**: for *legere*, see on 21. 51. 7; for *prae* = *praeter*, see on 21. 55. 9. The common reading, *praetervecta est oram*, makes it difficult to supply the remote *classis*; and, in speaking of the person who sails by, Livy uses only *praetervehi*; cf. 21. 41. 3, and often. — **Ebusum**: also called Pityusa, with a town of the same name, distinct from the two Baliaric islands.

8. **quae caput**: elsewhere, after plural names, Livy attracts the pronoun to agree with *caput*, as in 5. 8. 4.

9. **petentes**: for the construction, see on 21. 6. 2.

10. **Inde flexa retro**: the return must have begun on leaving Longuntica. — **Citeriora**: north of the Ebro. Spain was not yet a province.

11. **populi**: not peoples, but communities, tribes, *civitates*. — **dicionis**: for the construction, see on 21. 44. 5.

12. **Igitur**: an incredible march considering the shortness of the time. — **terrestribus**, etc.: repeated from 21. 60. 3 and 4, when Scipio first operated with his fleet and was afterward reinforced by native troops. — **saltum Castulonensem**: famous for its silver mines, and named for the town Castulo, which lay to the south on the Baetis. — **propius Oceanum**, *in the direction of the Atlantic*; for *propius* as a preposition, see on 21. 1. 2.

21. 1. **reliquom**: it is surprising that the events already recorded had not consumed the whole summer. — **per Poenum**, *as far as the Carthaginians were concerned*.

2. **ipsorum**, *in themselves*. — **avidaque in novas res**: so in 5. 20. 6; 7. 23. 6; Tac. Hist. 2. 56, *in omne nefas avidi*. Often with genitive, but with *novarum rerum*, *cupidus* is more common.

3. **ab saltu**: referring to ch. 20. 12, yet the report of the uprising of the Ilergetes seems to have been closely connected in the original account with the return of the Romans from the country north of the Ebro to the coast (21. 60. 4–61. 5), and to have been incorrectly referred by Livy's authority to the year 217 and to Castulo. In both cases Hasdrubal comes to the aid of the Ilergetes.—

populandum: Livy does not use *populatum*, but *praedatum*, as in ch. 3. 6; 13. 9.

4. **auxiliis**: from the subject peoples mentioned in ch. 20. 11 and 12; see 21. 60. 4. — **ut**: see on 21. 7. 7. — **armis exuta**: i.e. they threw away their arms in flight, as in 21. 61. 9.

5. **tumultus**: for the meaning, see on 21. 16. 4. — **cedentem**, *on his march.*

6. **Ilergavonensium**: so spelled on coins. — **Novam classem**: probably the *ad Novas* of the Itinerarium Antoninum, between Ilerda and Tarraco. — **repens**: for the meaning, see on ch. 7. 7. — **avertit**: because Hasdrubal was forced to turn from Scipio against the Celtiberi.

7. **Celtiberi**: formed like Gallograeci, Libyphoenices (cf. 21. 22. 3), the second part of the compound indicating the main people, the first part those joined by migration. They dwelt south and west of the Ebro.

8. **egregie**: more energetic than the usual *prospere* of the analistic style. Note the alliteration *expugnant . . . pugnant*, the asyndeton and the change of tenses. — **milia**: the statement of the number of prisoners and of captured standards is a peculiarity of Valerius Antias, whom Livy probably followed (Frag. 31, 32, 34, 39, 41, Pet.); see 3. 8. 10; 5. 12; 23. 49. 13.

22. 1. **P. Scipio**: the consul of 218 B.C. who had been wounded at the Ticinus and spent the winter at Cremona. — **provinciam**: shows that Spain had been originally intended as his command. — **triginta**: Polybius says twenty; they were quinqueremes; see 21. 17. 3.

2. **agmine**: ablative of cause with *ingens*. We should say "a great line of." — **onerariarum**: see on ch. 19. 5. — **portum Tarraconis**: the usual landing-place of the Romans was Emporiae; see 21. 60. 2; Plin. N. H. 3. 20, *colonia Tarraconensis Scipionum opus, sicut Carthago Poenorum.*

3. **communi**: in opposition to the disagreements of the consuls of the years 218, 217 and 216.

4. **nec ullo** = *et nullo*, since the negative does not belong to the verb. — **pergunt ire**: continues the idea of *haud cunctanter*, and implies the skilful employment of the favorable opportunity. — **traditos**: sc. *in custodiam*, as in 29. 21. 3, or *custodiendos.*

5. **omnium**: exaggerated. — **morabatur, ne**: the construction is that of a verb of fearing.

6. **unus**: emphatic contrast to *omnium*. — **sollerti**: used by Curtius also in 7. 7. 39, with *concilium*. — **magis quam**: a softened expression to avoid *perfidia*. The comparative formed, as in 8. 27. 6, and 35. 1. 1. — **erat**: with a locative, means *lived*. — **ante**: till Scipio's victory. Note the distinction between *fidus* of the character, and *fidelis* of its exhibition. — **fidem**: for the meaning, see on 21. 34. 3.

7. **unum . . . corpus**: an individual like a slave which was regarded simply as a thing; see on 21. 41. 16. — **id agebat**: not in general, but in the particular thing mentioned.

8. **potestatis**: for the construction, see on 21. 44. 5. — **eius poterat**: Livy's addition; *suae posset* might have been used referring the thought to Abelux. *eius* limits *potestatis;* Livy often makes one genitive depend upon another.

9. **Bostaris**: a common Carthaginian name; see 23. 34. 2. — **praefecti**: Polybius does not represent him as commandant of Saguntum, but as at the head of a corps sent by Hasdrubal to hinder the crossing of the Ebro by the Romans. When he was unsuccessful in this he retired to a camp between Saguntum and the shore; see 21. 7. 2. The condition of the town of Saguntum does not accord with the account of its destruction in 21. 14. — **arte**: Livy avoids the word *dolus* in this connection.

10. **in secretum abductum**, *taking him aside;* as in 1. 39. 3.

11. **volentibus**: more often *cupere* or *studere;* see on ch. 21. 2.

12. **id . . . donum**, *this gift that could have such a sudden value.*

13. **maxumum momentum**: so 3. 12. 6, *iuvenem egregium maxumum momentum rerum eius civitatis;* cf. 21. 4. 2; 29. 12. 2. On the other hand, *maxumum nomen*, the reading of the Mss. (27. 19. 4), *the highest rank.*

14. **obligat**: cf. the French *noblesse oblige.*

15. **ad cetera**, *in comparison with*, etc., as in 38. 21. 4. — **callido**: for the Roman estimate of the Carthaginian character, see on 21. 4. 9. According to Polybius, Bostar was called to account subsequently for his weakness. — **nocte clam**: for the association, see on 21. 63. 9, and cf. ch. 24. 6. — **auxiliaribus**: those serving in the Roman army. — **Scipionem**: the elder brother Publius; see Pol. 3. 99, and §§ 1 and 20.

16. **fide accepta**: Polybius says that Scipio promised Abelux immense rewards.

17. **excitatis**: from sleep, since the keepers of the hostages knew nothing in advance of the plan. — **puerorum**: hostages were generally the young children of prominent men.

18. **quo si** = *quo acta forent si*, as in 24. 8. 18.

19. **aliquanto**: in Livy the ablative of measure is often postpositive; cf. ch. 48. 4; 21. 15. 5. — **expertos**: passive, as in 21. 1. 2; see on 21. 30. 5.

20. **Romanus**: P. Scipio, not the Romans collectively, as shown by *incognitus* and the opposition to Abelux. — **haud frustra**: refers not to the reward of Abelux, but to the success of his deed.

23. 1. **quoque**: not appropriate here as it was in ch. 19. 1, and improperly repeated from that place or from ch. 22. 21. — **cladibus**: takes up the thought of ch. 18. 10.

2. **sollicitum . . . habebat**, *kept in constant anxiety*; so 28. 25. 8, and cf. 2. 64. 10, *sollicitum tenere*. — **magistrum**; like *magistrum populi*, the original title of the dictator (Cic. de Rep. 1. 40. 63), and *magistrum equitum*. Fabius' scornful appellation of *παιδαγωγός* (Plut. Fab. 5) may have come from this. — **fortuna**: *ex eventu*; see ch. 39. 10 and 21. The usual *cum* is omitted on account of assimilation to the construction of *ratione*.

3. **laeto**: pleasing for the moment. — **quam prospero**: because the success was the source of a new disaster. — **pugnatum**: the engagement mentioned in ch. 24. 8.

4. **una**: like the English, instead of *altera*. — **fraude ac dolo**: so in 1. 53. 4, to express an act intended for deception and skilfully carried into execution. The ablative is causal. — **perfugis**: deserters from the enemy's army; see ch. 28. 1; 30. 16. 10; elsewhere *transfuga*, as in ch. 22. 7; 48. 2; 21. 12. 4, but the difference is slight. — **circa**: for the construction, see on 21. 7. 5. — **uno eo**: an extraordinary arrangement of the words; cf. 8. 25. 13, *praesidio ei*, and Val. Max. 7. 3, Ext. 8, *unius eius fundum*. — **vim omnem**, *every kind of violence*: since Hannibal is said (Plut. Fab. 7) to have placed guards to prevent plundering or injury. — **abstineri**: a similar stratagem of Coriolanus is told in 2. 39. 6, and of Archidamus against Pericles in Just. 3. 7. — **ea merces**: note the attraction, as in ch. 1. 4; 13. 11.

5. **exspectata**: because the dictator, like the quaestors, was obliged to have the concurrence of the senate for every expense; Zon. 7. 13.

6. **quae** = *utra*, as in 21. 39. 6. — **plus**: sc. *captivorum*. — **pondo**: see on ch. 1. 17, and 21. 62. 8. According to Plutarch, 250 drachms; see on ch. 58. 4.

7. **Ducentis**: the exact number recalls Valerius Antias; see 2. 7. 2; 5. 30. 7. — **iactata** = *agitata*.

8. **inviolatum**: poetic for *intactum*. — **fidem**: the pledge made in the name of the state. — **inpendio**: instead of the more common *sumptu* or *inpensa*; so 7. 21. 7.

9. **pauca**: inconsistent with ch. 18. 7, and with Polybius, who says that Hannibal killed the inhabitants because they would not surrender, but saved the walls and houses for granaries (*in usum horreorum*). — **stativis**: Polybius says that Hannibal made an intrenched camp in front of the walls, intending to spend the winter there.

10. **frumentatum**: to obtain the necessary supplies for the winter. — **duas . . . partes**, *two-thirds*, as in 21. 40. 7. — **mittebat**: every day, as Polybius states. — **in statione**: *in command*, as in 2. 10. 3. — **praesidio et circumspectans**: Livy often joins unlike constructions; see ch. 28. 1; 21. 48. 2.

24. 1. **agro Larinati**: in accord with ch. 18. 7.

2. **pro**, *in accord with*. — **calidiora**: a common metaphor; cf. 35. 32. 13, *consilia calida et audacia*, and Cic. de Off. 1. 24. 82. — **ut**, *namely that*.

3. **ferocius quam consultius**, *with more rashness than wisdom*; *temere* is synonymous with *ferociter* (cf. ch. 38. 12), but lacks the comparative. For the two comparatives, see A. & G. 192; G. 314; H. 444, 2.

4. **quod . . . crederet**: one would not think that Hannibal would have weakened his force by sending away a large detachment in the face of an approaching enemy eager for battle.

5. **castra . . . movit**: Hannibal formed a new camp without abandoning his old one, where were his baggage and supplies; see § 10 and Polybius. — **propius**: preposition; see on 21. 1. 2. — **conspectum**, *in sight of*; equivalent to late Latin *conspicabilis*, as in ch. 4. 6; 2. 5. 5; 27. 27. 3; the dative *hosti* is used as if with the adjective.

6. **propior**: *still nearer* to the enemy. — **ei**: refers to Hannibal and depends on *apparuit*. — **ad quem capiendum**: join with *iretur*; see on 21. 6. 4. — **luce palam**: see on ch. 22. 15. — **praeventurus erat**: the union of the subjunctive in condition and the periphrastic forms of the indicative in conclusion is common; cf. § 9; ch. 28. 13; 60. 17; 21. 19. 2; A. & G. 307, d. and f; G. 599, 3; H. 511, 2. — **Numidae**: the troops most dreaded by the Romans and preferably mentioned by Livy when a stratagem is described; see ch. 48. 2. According to Polybius 2000 spearmen were sent to occupy the hill.

7. **deiecissent**, *dislodged*; a military term.

8. **tum utique**, *then at last*; forms the climax of *propius* and *propior*; cf. ch. 27. 1. — **exiguum**: explained by *spatii*, just as *multum abesse* is used, as well as *longe*, *procul*, *parum abesse*. — **acies**: the Roman legions. — **per aversa**: through the *porta decumana*, while the heavy infantry went out at the *porta praetoria*; cf. 24. 17. 3, *per aversam ab hoste portam*.

9. **nec** = *nec tamen*. With *ausus* sc. *est*.

10. **sedendo**: for the construction, see on 21. 4. 3. For the parenthesis, see the appendix. — **priora castra**: these being intrenched, he could act on the defensive. Polybius states that Minucius attacked Hannibal in his advanced camp, and that Hannibal hardly escaping defeat withdrew in the following night to Gereonium.

11. **conlatis signis**: often joined with *iusta acie*, *proelio*, or *aequo campo*, to indicate a regular battle in distinction from a skirmish. — **quidam**: among them probably Fabius Pictor, whom Livy seldom followed directly. — **Decimi**: from Decimius; so Quintius, Sextius, Nonius along with Quintus, Sextus, Nonus.

12. **Fabio**: his fear of Fabius is thus represented as the ground of Hannibal's retreat, displaying the partisanship of Livy's authority.

13. **duo castella**: the knoll from which the Numidians had been dislodged, and the advanced camp.

14. **admodum**, *fully*. — **vanam**: as in 33. 44. 7, *vana spes ex vaniore rumore orta*; cf. 9. 9. 15; 24. 32. 3.

25. 1. **contione**: the singular to balance *senatu*.

2. **nihil nec . . . nec**: note the negative distribution of the gen-

eral negative (A. & G. 209, 2; G. 444; H. 553, 2), the usual construction, whereas we say "nothing . . . either . . . or." — **secunda** the thought of ch. 23. 3.

3. **Metilius**: afterward consul (see 25. 22. 2) according to Plutarch, a kinsman of Minucius. — **enimvero**: an expression of passionate protestation commonly joined with *indignum;* see 6. 14. 12; 25. 14. 1; Cic. Verr. 1. 26. 66; it stands at the beginning of the sentence or after a pronominal word like *id*, *ille*, *tum*.

4. **in ducendo bello**: after *tempus terere* and similar expressions Livy usually omits the preposition, as in 21. 11. 3; other writers employ it. — **diutius**: Metilius implies that the war could be finished by a stroke, and that Fabius could lay down his command within six months, as other dictators had done, or else he practically charges Fabius with treason in seeking to prolong his power beyond six months.

5. **ablegatum**: for the meaning, see on 21. 10. 12; for the fact, ch. 11. 6.

6. **duos praetores**: T. Otacilius (see ch. 10. 10 and 31. 6), and Cornelius Mammula (see 23. 21. 4). — **in custodia**: as if he were a captive enemy.

7. **tamquam trans Hiberum**: as if the natural boundary between Campania and Samnium was a treaty boundary between the Romans and Carthaginians, as the Hiberus was in Spain; see 21. 2. 7. — **agrum suum**: Livy has already given, in ch. 23. 8, the answer to this impeachment of the dictator's integrity, but before the true state of the case was known at Rome the charge must have had great effect.

8. **prope**: the pickets were outside the ramparts; see ch. 12. 9. — **arma adempta**: a favorite charge; so in ch. 44. 6.

9. **ut . . . ut**: the repetition with a change of meaning is harsh. The second = *tamquam*, as in 21. 18. 5. — **egressos**: as if no further force or stratagem were needed.

10. **Quas ob res**: *quam ob rem* is more common even when several grounds are referred to. — **antiquus**, *the good old;* so with *mores* in 3. 68. 12. — **abrogando**: that was legally impossible since the election of Fabius could not be assailed; see 21. 63. 2. — **aequando**: reference is perhaps made to the dictatorship of Minucius in an inscription, found in 1862, and given in Corp. Ins.

Lat. I. n. 1503, *Hercolei Sacrom M. Minuci(us) C. F. dictator vovit.* — **iure**: because the *magister equitum* had no *imperium.*

11. **Nec . . . ne . . . quidem**: note again the persistence of the negative; see on § 10. — **mittendum** = *dimittendum*, since the Senate could not command the dictator.

12. **in actione**: as a popular speaker. — **audiebatur**: the imperfect because he spoke often in the Senate, hence *orationibus* in § 16. — **hostem**: not the Carthaginians as a whole, but Hannibal as a general in opposition to *ducum.* — **inscitiam**: so in ch. 9. 7. — **referret**: the sentence combines the use of *referre, to lay before*, as the consuls were said to lay a matter before the Senate, *referre ad senatum*, and *acceptum referre, to credit to.* The latter expression is followed by the dative.

13. **dictum** = *edictum, command*, as in ch. 11. 6.

14. **Si . . . sit**, *if he should retain the entire direction of the campaign and its policy*: in view of the prospective division of his authority. — **bono imperatore**, *with a good general*; abl. abs. — **fortunam . . . rationemque**: catch-words often recurring in criticisms of Fabius; see ch. 23. 2; 39. 21.

15. **in tempore**, *in an emergency.* — **sine ignominia**: without an act that indicated cowardice or bad generalship, as, e.g., Scipio's retiring to Placentia and Cremona in 218. A side thrust at Scipio, to whose family Fabius was opposed; see 28. 40–43.

16. **Atilio**: an old man (see ch. 40. 6) who had already been consul. — **rogationis ferendae dies**, *the day of submitting the proposition to the people.*

17. **tacita**, *unspoken.* — **magis . . . quam**: an unusual expression in which the excess of one thing is compared with a lack of another; cf. 3. 35. 10, *quod haud secus factum improbabant boni, quam nemo facere ausurum crediderat.* — **superante**, *preponderating.* — **auctoritas**: support by some one of recognized influence.

18. **humili**: relates to his family; **sordido** = *servili*, relates to his occupation. In the Roman view all industrial arts and retail trades belonged to the *artes sordidae* in distinction from *artes liberales.*

19. **Patrem**: Livy often introduces a new and important character by a brief biographical account; see on 21. 4. 2; cf. 46. 7; 63. 2. In this case Livy's source was plainly hostile to Varro. —

institorem: in the trades, merchants did not always sell their own wares, but sent them out by pedlers *institores*, men of low condition.

26. 1. **animos**: the plural of this word is often used of an individual to denote strong feelings of arrogance, pride, defiance, etc., as in § 4; 2. 39. 11; so also *spiritus*. — **fortunae**: like our "fortune," of a "condition" or "mode of life." — **fecit**: sc. *ei*, often omitted. — **togaque et forum**: he wished to become an advocate. The toga, the dress of the higher classes as distinct from the tunic worn by the lower classes (cf. *tunicatus popellus*, Hor. Epp. I. 7. 65), and the forum were the symbols of public life.

2. **proclamando**, *by clamorous championing;* a word of contempt; Cic. de Or. I. 46. 202, joins *proclamator* and *rabula*. *pro* gives the notion of publicity; cf. *declamare*. — **rem**: sc. *familiarem*, i.e. in civil processes. — **populi**, *populace;* limited by the foregoing and by *favor popularis* in § 4. — **honores**: the so-called *magistratus minores*, as shown by the connection; see Dictionary of Antiquities.

3. **duabus**: it was very rare for the same man to hold both the aedileships. — **perfunctus**: he had already filled the successive offices that led to the consulship.

4. **haud parum callide**: almost *nimis callide*, more than crafty, implying that Varro took unlawful means; hence *callide* is too mild. — **dictatoria**: instead of the objective genitive, as in 3. 42. 6, *posito decemvirali odio.*

5. **quique**: the double *-que*, not used by Caesar, is found in Livy only with the relative pronoun, as in I. 55. 6; 25. 22. 12, and in Sallust mostly with the personal pronoun in the first clause. — **atque**, *as well as*. — **dictatorem**: Plutarch, Fab. 10, compares him to Diogenes. — **acceperunt**, *took* or *regarded*, as the phrase *accipere in bonam partem.*

7. **in ipso itinere**: before he reached his camp. — **aequato**: each had equal *imperium*. — **invicto**: as in ch. 15. 1. — **hostibus**: employed solely to form an antithesis to *civibus.*

27. 2. **tum utique**: intensifies without repetition *cum vero;* see on ch. 24. 8. — **inmodice inmodesteque**: two synonymous words of the same derivation were often joined in old Latin and in the common speech. So *modice et modeste* in Plautus, and *modus ac modestia* in Sallust; see on 21. 7. 1. — **non . . . magis . . . quam,**

not so much . . . as; cf. ch. 12. 11. — **victo**: instead of a noun: see on 21. 1. 5.

3. **unicum**: see on ch. 14. 9. — **parem**: join with *Hannibali*; cf. ch. 12. 5. The word often implies an opponent, "a match." — **maiorem minori**: refers to rank, not age. — **memoria . . . annalium**: the *annales maximi*, since the "annals," i.e. literary histories, did not then exist. — **virgas . . . tremere**: poetic; see Verg. Aen. 8. 296. Minucius probably had in his mind the instance of Fabius in the second Samnite war. — **enituisse**: commonly in the perfect; this tense of its synonym *excellere* does not occur in classical prose.

4. **secuturum**: because fortune is considered as a guide leading the way. — **damnata**: by the gods who gave victory to Minucius: by men who made Minucius the equal of Fabius in authority.

6. **alternis**: according to Polybius it was Fabius who made these propositions; see ch. 41. 3.

8. **fortunam . . . temeritas**: see ch. 29. 1. — **conlegae**: Fabius scornfully refrains from addressing Minucius directly; so *alio* instead of *illo*. — **communicatum**: this verb is always construed with *cum* and the ablative (cf. the English "share"). The dative is added to the ablative with *cum* to denote a second person, where we say "share between them."

9. **qua posset**: sc. *non cedere*, or *res consilio gerere*; similarly sc. *servare* with *posset* below. — **exercitum**: adversative asyndeton with the verb as usual in the second clause. — **consiliis**, *policy*; see on ch. 3. 2; 15. 1.

10. **esset**: the subjunctive shows that Fabius referred to the analogous practice of the consuls. — **evenerunt**: by lot. The legions of Servilius were doubtless better men, better equipped and more serviceable than those newly raised by Fabius. The old ones were therefore first allotted, then the new.

11. **pari numero**: the same to each. — **Castris**: Polybius says the camps were about a mile and a third apart.

28–31. Defeat of Minucius; naval operations. The account of the battle agrees with that of Polybius, 3. 104–106.

1. **indicantibus**, *betraying*, as in ch. 1. 3; for the joining of unlike constructions, cf. ch. 23. 10. — **suos**: Hannibal had spies even in Rome; see ch. 33. 1.

2. **suo modo**: so in ch. 16. 5, and 21. 34. 1. With **captatu-**

rum the idea of hope, with **decessisse** that of knowing, is to be supplied.

3. **quem qui**: for the two relatives, see on 21. 6. 4. — **locum**, *position.*

5. **Ager**: according to Polybius an uncultivated district. — **prima specie**, *at first sight;* the careless look liable to be deceived, while *primo conspectu* in § 9 is temporal = *cum primum . . . conspexerunt.* — **non modo**: supply *non;* see on ch. 3. 4.

6. **re ipsa natus**, *from the very nature of the place fitted;* similar to the expressions *natura loci*, *natura regionis* (ch. 38. 9); *natus* is joined with a dative of purpose in ch. 4. 2, with *ad* and the accusative in ch. 44. 4. — **timeri**: used for a passive of *suspicari.* — **et . . . capere**, *and in the windings of the valley there were hollow rocks, some of them large enough to conceal two hundred armed men;* the whole expression is explanatory of *natus.*

7. **apte**, *comfortably.* Note the brachylogy of the clause for *tot in quemque locum quot . . . poterant.* — **conduntur**: by night, as in 21. 54. 2, and as Polybius and Plutarch, Fab. 11, expressly state; see also on 21. 7. 1.

8. **Necubi . . . detegeret**, *but lest the imprudent movement of a soldier or the gleam of arms should anywhere in so open a valley disclose the stratagem;* unlike § 14 (*cuiquam*) the negative here belongs to the act and not the person, hence *aliquis.* — **egressi** = *si egressus esset;* cf. *invicta*, 21. 5. 11. — **quem ante**: *supra* also is thus used, commonly in relative or comparative clauses introduced by *ut* or *sicut*, seldom with a participle as in our "the above mentioned."

9. **Primo statim conspectu**: the regular order; see on 21. 4. 1. — **deposcere pellendos**, *demanded the honor of driving out; pellere* is weaker than *deicere;* see on ch. 24. 7. — **stolidissimos ferocissimosque**: closely related ideas, as in ch. 27. 2; cf. 7. 5. 6, *stolide ferocem.*

11. **increscente certamine**, *as the conflict increased;* note the repetition of *mittere*, as that of *certamen* in § 4, and *succedere* in § 12.

12. **Prima**: the first to be defeated as well as the first to ascend. — **succedens**, *climbing.* In the next line **succedentem**, which is perhaps unintentionally repeated, means *following.* — **detrusa**: a military expression, stronger than *deicere*, *depellere*, etc.

13. **perculsos inpavida**: as in ch. 5. 1. — **iusta ac recta**, *regular and straightforward; iusta* refers to the orderly arrangement of battle; *recta* to the straightforward advance when there are no attacks upon flank or rear. — **haudquaquam inpar futura**: join with *acies*, or *pugna* may be supplied, in which case *haudquaquam inpar* will mean not so much "indecisive" as "favorable"; cf. ch. 18. 4. — **tantum**: like *adeo* often introduces a clause that gives the reason of a preceding statement, as in ch. 27. 3, and see on 21. 7. 3.

14. **ab tergoque**: Livy never joins *-que* to the preposition *a*, *ab*, *ad*, *cum*, or *ex;* see on ch. 17. 2. — **animus . . . spes**: chiasmus.

29. 1. **ita est**, *yes, it is as I thought;* confirmation of a thought before expressed; see ch. 27. 8; Näg. § 197. — **non celerius**: Plutarch, Fab. 12, is more exact, "O Hercules, how much sooner than I expected, though later than he seemed to desire, hath Minucius destroyed himself." So one may supply "*non celerius quam commeruit, citius quam timui*," as in 8. 32. 9. — **deprendit**: perfect. — **fortuna**: not fortune in the sense of chance or luck, but of "fate" taking vengeance upon the rashness of Minucius. The word often carries a kind of personification, as we speak of a "genius" or "guardian spirit"; e.g. "Fortuna Romae"; see on 21. 10. 6.

2. **iurgandi**: properly *iure agere*, "to litigate" (according to Ritschl, from *ius* only), more commonly in the modified sense of *obiurgare*. — **signa . . . proferte**, *advance*, as in ch. 42. 3.

3. **magna ex parte**: join with both participles. — **velut . . . demissa**, *as if from the clouds;* so 8. 9. 10, *caelo missus*, but oftener with *de*. — **ad auxilium**: join with *demissa*.

4. **ad coniectum teli**: Fabius saved the day merely by his coming; for the expression, see on ch. 15. 8. — **suos**: Minucius' troops. Note the chiasmus with *hostes*.

5. **plures simul**: i.e. in large companies. — **volventesque orbem**: we should say "forming a square." In the lack of a verb, *orbire*. the expression *volventesque orbem* is used, in which *volventes* repeats the idea contained in the substantive, but instead of *volventes* we should expect *facientes* or *conligentes*.

6. **ferente**: like a verb of saying often joined with *laudibus*, *sermonibus*, *fama*. The abl. abs. is allowed from the fact that *Hannibale*, though the same person as *Poenus*, the subject of the sentence, is here taken as the individual, while *Poenus* presents him

as the representative of the Carthaginians. — **victum**: perhaps a feature of the Fabian tradition.

8. **saepe . . . audivi**: because the sentiment was proverbial. It is taken from Hesiod, Works and Days, 293 f. — **ipse**: in contrast with an *alteri* to be supplied with *monenti*. — **consulat**: in the sense of *consilium expedire*. — **in rem**, *serviceable, to the purpose;* as in ch. 3. 2, and often; cf. *ex re (alicuius) est.*

9. **Nobis**: in opposition to Fabius, whose skill the soldiers recognized; in *imperare* Minucius refers primarily to himself. — **imperare . . . parere**: for the contrast, see on 21. 4. 3. Note the alliteration.

10. **tulerimus**: *signa ferre, to advance,* is commonly used without a modifier, like *ad praetorium* in this sentence; so *castra movere* means "to take up a march." — **parentem**: a more honorable and impressive title than *pater;* like *parens patriae;* ch. 4. 3. 12, *Romulus parens urbis.*

11. **patronos**: those who had established a claim to gratitude. The soldiers probably said *patroni, salvete.* — **gratorum . . . animorum**: classical prose lacks a substantive for "gratitude," so that Valerius Maximus, 5. 1 wrote *de humanitate, clementia, pietate,* but *de gratis, de ingratis;* see Näg. § 31. 2. *ingratitudo* is late Latin.

30. 1. **colligantur vasa**: packing the tents and supplies, as in 21. 47. 2. In Caesar also *vasa conclamare.* If the departure were to be concealed from the enemy, the customary signal with the trumpet was exchanged for a quiet order. — **agmine**: often in Livy as an adverb, meaning only "in order." — **admirationem**: corresponding to the verbal idea of *mirari,* "surprise"; see on 21. 3. 4. — **circa**: the legates and tribunes.

2. **progressus**: to be understood literally, as the *magister equitum* had dismounted. — **eius**: Fabius.

3. **fando**: modal ablative. A. & G. 301; G. 432; H. 542, IV. n. 2.

4. **oneratus . . . honoratus**: we may say "burdened rather than benefited," but it is better to avoid the alliteration. — **antiquo abrogo**, *I reject and annul; antiquare* is used of the rejection of proposed laws; *abrogare* of the repeal of existing laws. The two expressions are, therefore, not quite consistent, but see on 21. 29. 3. — **conservatori**: more impressive than *servatori*, which Livy

often uses. — **felix**: cf. Cic. de Div. I. 45. 102, *omnibus rebus agendis 'Quod bonum, faustum, felix fortunatumque esset' praefabantur.* The full formula appears in I. 17. 10, and 24. 16. 9.

5. **magisterium**: because *magistratus* formed on the analogy of *centurionatus*, *decurionatus*, *tribunatus*, has another meaning.

6. **interiunctae**: see on 21. 35. 1. The common word is *dare.* — **contione**: formed by the soldiers of Minucius; see on 21. 11. 4. — **invitati**: it is taken for granted that the camp was large enough for four legions. — **dies**: everything recorded since ch. 28. 9 is compressed into one day. — **exsecrabili**: like the *dies Alliensis.*

7. **Romae**: not joined with the temporal clause in which one must supply *Romam* or *eo.* — **laudibus . . . ferre**: the same in 9. 10. 3.

8. **apud Hannibalem**: the proof is in § 10. — **hostis**: corresponds to *Romae* in § 7.

9. **biennio**: the current year and the one before, though but a little more than twelve months had passed since the battle of the Ticinus, when the glory of the Roman name was destroyed. — **duces**: thus including Scipio; perhaps a feature of the Fabian tradition.

10. **dixisse ferunt**: a statement referred by Plutarch to the occasion described by Livy in ch. 29. 6. — **dedisse** = *edidisse.* An answer to the complaint of Minucius; see ch. 14. 8.

31. 1. **Servilius**: takes up the story of ch. 11. 7. The style of §§ 1–7 recalls that of ch. 20. 4 f. Cf. Polybius, 3. 96 and 97, who does not mention the landing in Africa. It is from him that the number of ships is taken. — **Sardiniae**: see on 21. 1. 5. Servilius had gone in pursuit of a Carthaginian fleet; see ch. 11. 6. — **Corsicae oram**: the coast was occupied soon after the seizure of Sardinia, but the interior was not yet subdued. — **utrimque**: from both islands. — **in Africam**: marks the goal, not the attainment of it.

2. **Menige**: the nominative is Meninx; an island in the Lesser Syrtis. So was Cercina, which had an important roadstead. — **decem talentis**: points to the same source as that of 21. 61. 11, since elsewhere in the second Punic war money is reckoned according to *auri pondo;* see on 21. 48. 9.

3. **iuxta . . . ac si**, *as carelessly as if;* a combination not found elsewhere in Livy; after the analogy of *idem*, *similis*, *ac si;* cf.

Sall. Jug. 45. 2; Cic. Red. in Sen. 8. 20. — **cultorum egentibus** *incultis* would mean not "uninhabited," but "not cultivated," as in 2. 34. 2.

5. **mille**: substantive. As a noun in the singular *mille*, except in connection with the plural *milia*, and in two instances of the abl. sing. (in Lucil. in Gell. 1. 16, and in Macrob. S. 1. 5) is used only in the nominative and accusative (see on 21. 61. 1); here it is doubtless in the accusative, and the expression *ad mille hominum* is by loose usage in the abl. abs. with *amisso*.

6. **Lilybaei**: the chief port and fortress of the Romans in Sicily, where at that time 50 quinqueremes lay (see 21. 49. 5, and 51. 6), later the residence of the propraetor. — **Otacilio**: see ch. 10. 10.

7. **pedibus** = *terrestri itinere*, *by land*. — **freto**: sc. *Siculo;* see on 21. 56. 9. — **conlega**: belongs to *accitus* not to *traiecit*, instead of *ipse cum conlega*, a loose construction in which *conlega* is nominative by attraction. — **semenstri**: the dictator could hold office only six months; cf. Cic. de Leg. 3. 3. 9, *Quando duellum gravius, discordiae civium escunt* (= *erunt*), *oenus* (= *unus*) *ne amplius sex menses, si senatus creverit, idem iuris quod duo consules, teneto.*

8. The following sections of the chapter add a correction of ch. 8 f., in which, as in 28. 40. 10, Livy speaks of Fabius as dictator. For similar explanations, see 21. 15. 3; 2. 21. 4.

9. **Gallia**: not *Gallia Cispadana*, but the so-called *ager Gallicus*, the coast country between Ariminum and Ancona; see ch. 9. 6.

10. **quam moram**: note both the attraction and the brachylogy. — **tertia**: Ticinus, Trebia, Trasumennus.

11. **titulum imaginis**: every Roman who had held a curule office had the *ius imaginum*, the right to place in the atrium of his house his waxen mask, with an inscription, *titulus*, beneath, recounting his official honors. These inscriptions were often falsified; see 8. 40. 4, *vitiatam memoriam falsis imaginum titulis.* — **pro dictatore**: just as *pro consule*, *pro praetore* were originally said; a distinction was made between the election and the authority actually exercised. — **obtinuisse**, *brought it about;* implies that the knowledge of the exact circumstances is in opposition to *fama*, but *facile* shows that the opposition is unimportant; thus often *fama tenuit, obtinuit.* The infinitive depends upon *fugit*, the intervening *quam . . . esset* being a parenthetical explanation by Livy.

32–36. Conduct of the war by consuls in the year 217. Affairs in the city.

32. 1. **Atilius**: note the omission of the praenomen, and the inverted order in Geminus Servilius. — **Fabiano**: those which fell to Fabius in the division of the legions; see ch. 27. 10; yet *diversis* in § 2 points to separate operations. — **hib rnaculis**: probably two; see ch. 44. 1. — **artibus**, *policy*; cf. § 3 and see on *consilia*, ch. 3. 2.

2. **Frumentatum**: the conclusion of the movements described in ch. 23. 10 f. for the gathering of winter supplies. — **aderant**: appeared at points and in positions where Hannibal did not expect them. Livy avoids an expression like *occurrebant*, *obsistebant*, as these words imply active hostility. — **excipientes**, here = *intercipientes*; see on 21. 61. 8, and ch. 12. 7. — **universae dimicationis**, *a general engagement*; similar to *universo periculo*, ch. 12. 10.

3. **inopia**: this statement, lacking in Polybius, is strange in this connection, and probably is only a favorite expression of Fabius Pictor, who often repeats it and at unsuitable places, as in ch. 11. 4; 16. 4; 40. 9. — **coactus**, *reduced to straits*, is archaic; cf. Plaut. Mil. 516, Ter. Heaut. 669. — **repetiturus fuerit**: this is the common form when the apodosis of a past condition contrary to fact is also a consecutive clause. A. & G. 308, d. and note; G. 599, 5; H. 511, 2. n. — **nulla relicta spe**: the conclusion of *si . . . gererent*, and equivalent to *cum nulla spes relicta fuisset, si*; see on 21. 5. 11.

4. **ut dicerent**, *spoke as follows*; the words are used pleonastically in order that the infinitive may depend upon a verb rather than upon a noun or a noun and verb; cf. 36. 28. 1, *orationem ita finivit ut diceret*; Cic. pro Planc. 26. 65, *hac spe decedebam ut putarem*.

5. **exhauriri**: the state had recourse to a debasing of the coinage, lowering the *as* (which had already been reduced to $\frac{1}{3}$ of a pound in the first Punic war), to $\frac{1}{12}$, the uncial rate; see on 21. 41. 6. — **urbibus agrisque**: rhetorical exaggeration, since the towns relied upon their own walls and Fabius had given up the open country. — **capite . . . Italiae**: probably a gloss from 21. 35. 9, since both the unequal balance of the clauses and the double *atque*, especially after *iuxta ac*, are harsh.

6. **fortunae**: sc. *adversae*, a kind of reserve fund (see 27. 10. 11), but not in coined money; it probably consisted largely of votive offerings.

7. **crederent**: sc. *Neapolitani*, who would have offered troops, but only Romans and Latins were allowed to serve in the regular rmy; see ch. 37. 7. The change in the tenses is due to the desire to express the two ideas that in full would require *si crederent* . . . *esse oblaturos*, and *si credidissent* . . . *fuisse oblaturos*. — **patres**: recalls the customary form in hexameter *populumque patresque* = *senatus populusque*. — **Romanos**: belongs to *patres* and *populum*.

8. **suas duxissent**, *make free use of;* the change of tense in *iudicaverint*, though rare in two clauses so closely connected, is not anomalous, and is to be explained by the fact that for the moment Livy ceased to be the historian and spoke as a Neapolitan. Such sudden shiftings of points of view are common in every living language.

33. 1. **Carthaginiensis**: not necessarily a native Carthaginian, but a Greek in the pay of Hannibal; see ch. 28. 1. — **Romae**: belongs also to *fefellerat*.

2. **crucem**: the usual *supplicium servile*. — **coniurassent**: if a conspiracy is meant, the place stated is remarkable, unless, as Livy suggests, they were public slaves who took advantage of their occupation on the Campus Martius to form a conspiracy. If the expression refers to a crafty attempt of the slaves to take the military oath (see ch. 38. 3), by which they might obtain their freedom (see Pliny, Let. 10. 30 (39)), the difficulty occurs that the levy was wont to be made on the Capitol; see 26. 31. 11. — **libertas**: a similar reward was given to the slave that disclosed the plot to restore the Tarquins (see 2. 5. 9), and also to the discloser of the Catilinarian conspiracy (Sall. Cat. 30. 6). — **aeris gravis**: the *as* of ten ounces; hence tenfold the value of the one then current; see on ch. 10. 7.

3. **Demetrium Pharium**: Demetrius of Pharos on the Dalmatian coast, an Illyrian vassal who had gone over to the Romans, and been rewarded by them with a considerable sovereignty. Revolting when he thought they were engrossed in the Gallic war, he was subdued by Aemilius Paulus in B.C. 219, and fled to Philip. — **fugisset**: the subjunctive of informal *oratio obliqua*, because the envoys were to claim that the misuse of the right of asylum was a reason for his surrender; A. & G. 341, d.; G. 630; H. 516, II.

4. **expostulandum**: for either an explanation or satisfaction

so in 21. 25. 5. For the fact, see 21. 59. 10. — **visendum**: for a similar diplomatic reconnaissance, see 21. 6. 3.

5. **stipendium**: the yearly tribute which the Illyrian queen Teuta, the stepmother of Pinnus or Pinnes, had bound herself to pay after her defeat by the Romans in 228 B.C.

6. **cervicibus**: Livy uses this word in a figurative sense only in the plural; see 4. 12. 4; 27. 26. 8; for the singular, see ch. 51. 7. — **terrarum**: for the construction, see on ch. 13. 7. — **longinquae**: sc. *rei*; for the meaning, see on 21. 21. 5; cf. 28. 44. 11, *provincia*; 30. 29. 10, *aquatio*.

7. **etiam**: the use of *et . . . quoque . . . et . . . iam* in §§ 3, 5 and 7 shows that at the end of the year 217 several matters remained to be noticed, for which there had been no place in the account of the war. — **per**, *on the occasion of*, as in 24. 7. 10. — **seditionem**: mentioned in 21. 25. 12 only as *trepidatio*. — **biennio**: in fact a year and a half before; see on ch. 30. 9.

8. **in arce**: this little-known shrine is to be distinguished from the temple of Concord (9. 46. 6) built at the foot of the Capitol, *in area Vulcani*, next the forum.

9. **si iis videretur**: often only an expression of formal courtesy like *si placet* in imperative sentences, but here a real direction to the consuls to act on their own judgment, as in 21. 6. 4. — **creandos**: presiding at the election. — **quam**: note the omission of the preposition, common where the same verb is to be supplied in the relative, as in the antecedent, clause.

11. **rectius**: the senate determined whether a dictator or an interrex should hold the election. — **a consule**: probably Servilius, since Atilius was *consul suffectus*. — **comitiorum . . . causa**: in distinction from *dictator rei gerundae*; see on ch. 8. 5.

12. **vitio**: a failure in the formalities would only be known and operative after the election; see on 21. 63. 5.

34. 1. **prorogatum**: the consuls thus continued in command of the army while the new consuls attended to the new levies. — **interreges**: the plural because the election was never conducted by the first one appointed, but only by the second or third; therefore also *a patribus* since every interrex was named by another senator. — **inde**: after five days, the time during which an interrex held office. — **patrum ac plebis**: the words here do not distinguish

the patricians and plebeians, as in earlier times, but *patrum* refers to *nobiles* (see on § 7) and *plebis* includes those who were not *nobiles*

2. **popularibusque artibus**: see ch. 26. 2. — **concusso**: for the construction, see on 21. 1. 5. The noun *concussio* belongs to the silver age. — **extrahere**: the infinitive, as in 21. 28. 2, instead of *ut* with the subjunctive. — **nitebatur**: with all means; for this use, see on 21. 3. 2. — **aequari**: Varro had been praetor, but would rise to the patrician level only by holding the consulship. — **homines**: for variety with *plebs* and *volgus*.

3. **cognatus**: a distant relation, since, as the name shows, they did not belong to the same clan. The word implies that the opposition rose from unworthy motives; see on ch. 25. 3. — **augures**: who had brought to notice the informalities in the appointment of the dictator Philo.

4. **hominibus nobilibus**, *the aristocracy;* neither an honorable appellation like *vir*, nor a contemptuous one, but simply descriptive of a class; so *principum* in § 2, and *homo patricius* in 4. 16. 4. Perhaps the expression contains a hit at Fabius, who in his first consulship (233) challenged the Carthaginians to war; Gellius, 10. 27. — **quaerentibus**: refers to the complications about Sardinia and Corsica, the establishing of the Ebro as an international boundary and the interference in favor of Saguntum; see 21. 2. 7. — **adductum**: in order to silence the dissatisfied people.

5. **universis**: "united," implying that Fabius' wish to divide the army was an intentional device to prolong the war. — **pugnari**: in a regular engagement, in opposition to Fabius' defensive policy, see § 7. — **obiectas**: the result of Fabius' refusal to alternate the full authority.

6. **pater patronusque**: rhetorical exaggeration; see ch. 29. 10. Yet the association of *pater* and *patronus* is not rare; cf. Ter. Adel. 456; Hor. Epist. 1. 7. 54.

7. **Id foedus**, *a compact for this;* see on 21. 5. 4. — **hominem novum**: commonly in the reverse order. It is to be remembered that there was no distinct order of nobles at Rome. The *nobiles* were those who reckoned among their ancestry at least one man who had held a curule office, and hence had the *ius imaginum*. One who held such an office for the first time in his family's history was neither *nobilis* nor *ignobilis*, but *novus homo*, and his descendants were *nobiles*.

8. **initiatos . . . sacris**: figurative for complete merging of interests. — **contemni patribus desierint**: for the infinitive, see on ch. 18. 10. *contemni* means "to appear contemptible." The dative is much oftener used with the perfect participle than with other forms of *contemnere*, as Tac. His. I. 60, *contemptus exercitui*.

9. **ut . . . ut**: the first clause is in explanatory apposition, "namely that"; the second is final. — **potestate**: by the appointment of successive interreges they could wait for the moment when election intrigues would turn affairs in favor of their candidates.

10. **ambos**: in translating join with *morando*, *by both remaining.* — **expugnatum**: literally "take by storm," indicates more strongly the forcible means which the senatorial party is said to have used.

11. **interregnum**: and therefore a control without a determinable end, since once (see 8. 23. 17) fourteen interreges were appointed. — **populum**: to interchange with *plebis*. — **diu imperare**: see ch. 25. 4.

35. 1. **Merenda**: a rare *cognomen* meaning the same as *prandium*.

2. **nobilium familiarum**: as in 39. 40. 3, *plebeios nobilissimarum familiarum*; the common reading is *nobilibus iam* with the adverb after the adjective. — **in manu eius**: because he presided at the election, and to a considerable degree determined the admission of candidates. — **rogando**: used of an election, as *subrogare* of an election to fill a vacancy, since the will of the people was asked, as in the passage of laws, in the formula *Velitis iubeatis*; see on ch. 10. 2. The dative of purpose after *comitia*; cf. 21. 52. 8, *sociis continendis*. A. & G. 299, b.; G. 430; H. 544, n. 3.

3. **experta**, *having learned to their cost.* — **virium**: so we speak of a "strong" candidate. — **Aemilium Paulum**: consul in 219 B.C., and in the next year a member of the embassy to Carthage (see 21. 18. 1); now eligible by the law mentioned in 27. 6. 7, which allowed the people, during the continuance of the war in Italy, to re-elect any one who had been consul as often as they wished. — **M. Livio**: Salinator, condemned *populi iudicio* (see 27. 34. 3) for embezzlement in the Illyrian war, or for an unjust division of the spoil; afterward victor over Hasdrubal at the Metaurus. — **ambustus**: the figure of singeing or burning is often used of condemnation at law; see ch. 40. 2.

4. **concedentibus**: in order that the votes of the senatorial party

might be united. — **in adversandum**: the gerund or gerundive with *in* is seldom used to denote purpose or result, but cf. 21. 21. 10. A. & G. 300; G. 433; H. 542, iii. — **conlega**: with the idea of harmonious co-operation.

5. **Pomponius**: the *praetor peregrinus* of the year 217 B.C.; see ch. 7. 8. The election of praetors regularly followed that of consuls. — **Romae**: the order is strange, since *Romae* belongs to both clauses. These two praetors had jurisdiction in Rome, the others abroad. — **iuri dicundo**: the dative of purpose with *sors*, for which the genitive might have been used, as with the names of magistrates; see on 21. 53. 11. — **urbana**: he had jurisdiction in cases between citizens.

6. **Additi**, *elected*, as the number was already determined. — **in Siciliam**: to Lilybaeum. — **in Galliam**: to Ariminum, since no praetor was needed in Sardinia; see ch. 25. 6. All the praetors except Pomponius were ex-consuls.

7. **fortibus ac strenuis**: indicated to a Roman the whole man, as *bonus ac strenuus*, the honorable man; see on 21. 4. 4; cf. ch. 59. 11. — **novus**: explained by the preceding relative clause. Note the alliteration.

36. 1. **quoque**, *and further*; general rather than special. — **multiplicati**: considerably strengthened, almost doubled; as *auctus* in § 3 of an unimportant increase; cf. *multiplex*, ch. 7. 3. — **variant**, *disagree*; so in 21. 28. 5. — **ausus sim**: Livy does not use the form *ausim* in consecutive sentences.

2. **alii**: sc. *scribunt*, implied in *auctores variant*.

3. **quoque**: in addition to the increase from four to eight legions. Livy distinguishes three variant statements: first, the reinforcement of the existing army by 10,000 men; second, the doubling of the army to eight legions of the normal number; third, the doubling and the enlarging of the legions. According to the last, the army consisted of eight legions of 10,000 infantry each, furnished equally by Romans and allies, and 900 cavalry, of which 300 were Roman and 600 allies, in all 87,200 men. — **milibus**: used distributively for the lacking *milleni*, and always by Livy in connection with some case of *singulos*, as in 29. 15. 9; 30. 17. 14. — **treceni**: according to this, the legions of the earlier time must have had only 200 Roman horsemen, but in 8. 8. 14, and 21. 17. 3,

Livy assigns them 300 each. Polybius agrees with the statement of the text.

4. **auctores sunt**, *state*, or *is the statement of;* sometimes placed after the accusative and infinitive with its dependent clause, as in 1. 48. 9; 26. 16. 4, but when several infinitive clauses follow in succession, it usually follows the first; cf. 27. 38. 11. Polybius is included among the *quidam;* see 21. 15. 3; 38. 1.

5. **Illud**, *of the following*, as often. — **discrepat**: impersonal, as in ch. 61. 10; 3. 31. 8; 8. 40. 1. — **conatu**: stronger than *apparatu.* It clearly appears that it was the intention of the senate to hazard another battle (Polybius says expressly that they ordered it after the capture of the magazine at Cannae), but after the great disaster, the historians of the aristocratic party placed the blame on Varro. — **vinci**: refers not to Hannibal's being blockaded at Casilinum, but to the claim of ch. 29. 6.

6. **Ceterum**: for this use, see on 21. 5. 1. After giving the statements of several authors concerning the strength of the Roman army Livy now returns to an exclusively Roman source (Coelius). — **territos**: varius oracular utterances were also at that time current, like the famous one of Marcius foretelling a coming overthrow on the plains of Diomedes; see 25. 12. 5; Pol. 3. 112.

7. **cruore**: so ch. 1. 9. Join also with *manasse* of the next clause. — **Caere**: see ch. 1. 10.

8. **etiam**: strengthens the comparative. *adhuc* is used in a similar sense in late Latin. — **saepius**: not of earlier instances, but of repeated occurrences at that time. — **via fornicata**, *in Arcade street;* a covered way leading to the Campus Martius, not in existence in Livy's time, as shown by *erat.*

9. **Paesto**: the ancient Posidonia in Lucania, now famous for its ruined temples.

37, **38**. 1–5. Military preparations at Rome.

37. 1. **ab Hierone**: join with *classis;* see on **21. 11. 3.**

2. **adlatam**: instead of *nuntium*, etc.; see on 21. 1. 5. — **sua propria**, *personal.* Hiero stands contrasted with Flaminius, and *regni* to *exercitus.* *suus* is often contrasted with *alienus*, and *proprius* with *communis.* — **potuerit**: for the construction, see on 21. 34. 7.

3. **probe sciat**: like the phrase "I don't rightly know"; see

on ch. 15. 1. — **prope**: note the delicate compliment in the position after *admirabiliorem*, as if they said "if that were possible." — **adversis rebus**: the abl. abs. is used with both the adjective and the participle, but with the adjective the preposition *in* is often employed; e.g. *in rebus dubiis, trepidis, asperis, prosperis;* yet Livy has no fixed rule; cf. ch. 27. 1, with 30. 30. 16; also ch. 22. 19; 27. 3; 39. 12.

4. **se**: for the moment the ambassadors speak in the person of Hiero, then return to their own in § 5, but in § 7 again personate the king. — **bonis fidelibusque**: more often *fortis ac fidelis* of the allies; see ch. 60. 20; 21. 44. 2. Yet even in Cicero the Roman *fortitudo* was giving way to the influence of the Greek ἀγαθός, as in Caecil. 4. 12, *optimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum.*

5. **pondo**: see on 21. 62. 8. — **ducentum**: for *ducentorum*, as in § 6, *modium* for *modiorum.*

7. **Milite** = *pedite.* — **externa**: Gauls (the Cenomani), 21. 48. 1; 855. 4; Spaniards, 21. 60. 4; Cretans, 24. 30. 13.

8. **mille**: according to Sil. Ital. 8. 615, there were 3000. For the construction, see on ch. 31. 5. — **funditorum**: a class of soldiers henceforth often appearing in the Roman armies. — **pugnaces**, *wont to fight;* denotes the skill of the Baliares and their partiality for that kind of weapon. *pugnax* is not usually used with an ablative, but cf. Hor. Od. 4. 6. 8, *tremenda cuspide pugnax.*

9. **laxamenti**: so in 10. 39. 9; for the fact, see ch. 11. 6.

10. **uno tenore**: see on ch. 47. 6; *eodem, aequali, perpetuo tenore* are also used; see ch. 15. 1. *continue* is ante and post classical. — **ex quo**: since the beginning of the first Punic war; see on 21. 50. 9.

11. **gratia rei accepta**: the Romans admitted their obligation for gratitude. The same idea as our colloquial "I am just as much obliged as if I had taken it."

12. **dare dicare**: note the alliteration and the asyndeton. See on 21. 10. 3. — **volentem propitiamque**: the conjunction often omitted with these words is here used to balance the next expression.

13. **ad * * navium**: the number has dropped out, but since the fleet of 25 ships sent to Vibo (see 21. 51. 6) had no doubt joined the fleet of the praetor Aemilius, there must have been at Lilybaeum 75 quinqueremes, which this addition raised to 100. This was a fleet

similar to that with which Servilius had made a descent upon Africa (see ch. 31. 1), but not large enough for decisive operations; see 21. 17. 3.

38. 1. **paucos**, *but a few;* see on 21. 4. 7. — **venirent**: for the subjunctive, see on 21. 8. 1.

2. **nunquam antea**: as in ch. 8. 6. The statement probably is taken from the jurist Coelius. Before this time the soldiers had been called upon to take only the military oath, *sacramentum*, of allegiance to the consuls; see 3. 20. 3, *iussu abituros*, etc. In addition to this the companies of cavalry and infantry made with themselves the voluntary compact given in § 4. This was now made a required oath and administered by the tribunes.

3. **conventuros**: a general promise, but here referring particularly to the assembling of Sempronius' army at Ariminum; see on 21. 51. 6. — **decuriatum**: *for forming into decuries.* This word is not found elsewhere, and *centuriatus* only with the meaning of the "office of centurion," but Livy often uses words without parallel or for the first time; cf. 1. 19. 2, *desuetudo;* 4. 10. 9, *consulariter.* Madvig reads *ad decuriandum aut centuriandum*, since in the early language the gerund was used passively, e.g. *ad imperandum*, "to receive orders," Sall. Jug. 62. 8; Cic. Ep. ad Fam. 9. 25. 2. *aedes ad imperandum.* — **coniurabant** = *una iurabant.* They took the oath in their divisions.

4. **fugae atque formidinis**: standing combination; see 10. 14. 20; Cic. ad Att. 8. 14. 1. — **ergo**: an antiquated word, used in laws, resolutions of the senate, and inscriptions, and in the phrase *virtutis ergo;* always postpositive. — **sumendi**: from supplies in the rear. — **repetendi**: from the enemies' ranks, or the space in front where they had fallen. — **civis**, *comrade.*

38. 6—40. The consuls go to the seat of war.

6. **priusquam**: takes up the thread of ch. 36. 6. — **denuntiantis**: the verb does not have here its usual meaning of threatening, or disclosing a secret, but, in recalling the thought of ch. 34. 4, that of "openly and loudly saying"; so in ch. 39. 8; 49. 3. — **arcessitum**: perhaps referring to the advantage in assuming the offensive, which Hannibal gained from the delay of the Romans in declaring war, due largely to Fabius, and perhaps from the delay, very excusable as it was, of Scipio's departure to Spain in 218.

8. **pridie quam**: construed like *priusquam.*

9. **qui**, *how;* an old locative form, parallel to the ablative *quo.* — **locorum situm**: the more special idea; the ground with reference to the position of both armies before and during the battle. — **naturam regionis**: the character of the country with reference to means of communication and provisioning. — **praedicere**: exaggeration, since this thought is not contained in § 7.

11. **quam homines rebus**: added solely for the antithesis, the thought being that men must be controlled by circumstances, and not *vice versa.* — **satis**: a favorite word with Livy in the sense of "very," but here rather weakening, implying that the wisest of plans were of uncertain issue. We put the emphasis on the verb, "he *hoped*," etc.

12. **ad id locorum**: temporal, equivalent to *ad hoc tempus*, as in 25. 19. 11; 43. 5. 4. — **sua sponte apparebat**, *it was self-evident; sua sponte* is often used of events, and of self-evident facts; cf. 2. 23. 2, *invidiam sua sponte gliscentem*, and see on 21. 62. 3.

13. **fertur**: because the following speech was composed by Livy; see on ch. 39. 3.

39. 1. **Si . . . Nunc**: see on 21. 13. 2, where, as here, the condition is followed by *nunc* adversative. — **conlegae**: for the genitive, see on 21. 54. 3. — **oratio**: here and in § 3 *sermo* would have been expected, as in ch. 40. 4, but Livy finds a speech and a reply better adapted to the rhetorical and artistic character of his work.

2. **boni . . . mali**: conditional, if they were good or bad. — **indicente**: archaic, as in Ter. Ad. 507, analogous to *inopinans, insperans*, as in 27. 48. 14. Negative *in* is never compounded with verbs, and in classical Latin usually only with perf. pass. partic. and adjectives. — **fide vestra**, *the dictates of your own consciences.* Tatham; see on 21. 34. 3.

3. **altera parte claudente** (= *claudicante*), *lame on one side;* so Nep. Agesil. 8. 1, *claudus altero pede.*

4. **nescio**: the opposition of the first person to the second (*erras*) is sufficiently expressed without a particle like *immo.* The student may well note the use of comparison and antithesis in this speech. Varro is first shown to be weaker than Hannibal in ability, then to be more violent than Flaminius. This violence will endanger the advantages of the Romans, which are contrasted seriatim (§§ 11-

16) with the disadvantages of the Carthaginians, in which contrast the repeated asyndeta produce a kind of climax. The close is an appeal on moral grounds that Paulus should be the superior of Varro.

5. **legiones**: see on *praerogativam* 21. 3. 1. — **equitibus**: there was no permanent division of the troops, as in ch. 27. 9, since the command alternated between the consuls; see ch. 41. 3. *equitibus* stands first since Livy has in mind Aemilius' command of the cavalry at Cannae; see ch. 45. 8; 49. 3.

6. **tuis militibus**: by making them disaffected. — **furere**: for the occasion, see ch. 3. 9. This word denotes a fierce but passing frenzy, while *insanire* implies a state of madness, but the words are often interchanged.

7. **procellas**: join with *ciet*, *proelia* with *iactando*. Such talk is not in accordance with Varro's assurance of finishing the war in a single day; see ch. 38. 7. — **proelia . . . iactando**: cf. Prov. 26. 18, "Madman casteth firebrands, arrows, and death." — **iuventutem**, *soldiery; iuvenis*, meaning the man of the age for military service, was the common synonym for soldier.

8. **quod . . . denuntiat**, *as he loudly declares;* for *denuntiare*, see on ch. 38. 6. — **hoc genus**: this defensive system. — **erit**: prophecy *ex eventu*.

9. **gloriandi**: for the construction, see on 21. 43. 9. — **adversus** = *coram*, to one person instead of in the presence of the senate or people. — **ratio**, *system;* different from the *ratio*, *deliberate judgment*, of § 10.

10. **iste**: the parenthesis expresses better than would a relative clause the scorn of this method of judging by results. — **eadem**: not parallel with *hoc*, but belongs to *ratio*. — **futura**: more emphatic than *erit*, and at the same time intensified by the alliteration.

12. **meliores**: sc. *bello*. — **nos**: in distinction from the allies. — **tempus diesque**: cf. 2. 45. 2, *diem tempusque*, and see on 21. 7. 1.

13. **inter . . . infestaque**, *where everything is unfriendly and dangerous;* for *omnia*, cf. ch. 6. 5, and see on 21. 32. 9. — **procul ab domo**: Livy does not say, as the strong antithesis would lead one to expect, that the Carthaginian government could not, or would not, support Hannibal, for that would conflict with 21. 49. 2, but

he refers to the difficulty of transportation. That the home support of Hannibal was very weak is shown by 23. 14. 1, *haec ut in secundis rebus segniter otioseque gesta.*

14. **in diem rapto**: for the fact, see ch. 40. 8; *rapto* is abl. of means. — **tertiam**: Hannibal had lost fully two-thirds of the army with which he set out (see 21. 40. 7), but his reinforcements of Gauls had raised his army to much more than a third of its original number; cf. 21. 23. 1 with ch. 46. 6. — **fame**: Fabius refers not merely to the passage of the Alps, but to the scarcity into which he boasted that he had brought Hannibal; see ch. 11. 4. The same alliteration occurs in 23. 19. 17. — **victus**: for the fact, see ch. 40. 8. — **suppeditat** = *suppetit*, *superest*, intransitive always in Livy; cf. 1. 55. 7; 26. 45. 1.

15. **sedendo**: as in ch. 14. 14. — **supplementum . . . pecuniam**: first voted to Hannibal after the battle of Cannae, but see above on § 13.

16. **pro Gereonii . . . moenibus**: in order to hold it; see ch. 23. 9; *ante* would mean that he was besieging it. — **adversus**: the idea here, in distinction from § 9, is that he does not fear that Paulus will object to his statements, but he prefers to bring the consuls forward as witnesses.

17. **ludificati**: synonymous with *eludere;* see on ch. 18. 3 and 9.

18. **cupiet**: stronger than *volent.* — **adversus**, etc.: join with *firmus;* so *firmus adversus convicia, largitionem*, etc.

19. **aiunt**: often of proverbial expressions, as in 7. 13. 7, *compressis, quod aiunt, manibus sedere;* Cic. Lael. 5. 19, *pingui Minerva, ut aiunt.* The figure of *laborare* is of an eclipse. — **vanam**: forms the antithesis to *veram*, as 28. 25. 2, and often.

20. **timidum**: as Fabius had himself experienced; see ch. 12. 12. — **perito belli**: because experience is important in a general. Elsewhere *fortis* makes the contrast to *imbellis.*

21. **fortuna**: which Fabius so greatly scorned that he declared that even Scipio was a mere *routinier.* — **tuae**: favorable to you, as often *suo* with *loco, tempore*, as in 1. 56. 8; 2. 23. 5.

40. 1. **Adversus ea**, *in reply.* — **oratio**: see on ch. 39. 1. — **haud sane**: for the meaning, see on 21. 2. 4.

2. **intolerabilem**: see ch. 27. 1. — **virium atque auctoritatis**, *control and influence.* If the armies were not divided, one consul

could exercise only a moral restraint upon the other during the latter's authority; see ch. 45. 5.

3. **semustum**: like *ambustus;* see on ch. 35. 3. — **evenirent**: preferably used of favorable events, and therefore joined with *bene, feliciter, prospere*, as in ch. 38. 11; 21. 21. 9. — **caderet**: here equivalent to *accideret* or *incideret;* cf. 35. 13. 9, *si quid adversi casurum foret.* — **caput**: with a play on the legal meaning of the word, as in *capitis deminutio.*

4. **Ab**, *immediately after*, as in 21. 16. 5; 23. 6. 1; 26. 15. 5. — **sua**, *his devoted.* — **conspectior**: because *conspicuus* has no comparative. — **dignitates**, *men of distinction;* so Cic. Ep. ad Fam. 4. 8. 2, *dignitates hominum;* cf. our "celebrities," and see Näg. § 14. — **deessent**: stronger than *abessent* (not present in the crowd), meaning that the attendants of Varro included no prominent personages known for official honors.

5. **bifariam**: not *binis*, as in ch. 44. 1, since the existing camp was only enlarged and one new camp formed. — **propius**: a preposition; see on 21. 1. 2. — **omne robur**: descriptive addition to *pars*, meaning that the great bulk of the army was in this camp, those in the other forming but a small fraction.

6. **excusantem**, *offering as a ground for excuse;* cf. 26. 22. 5, *valetudinem oculorum excusavit;* similarly *defendere*, "to offer in justification," as in 21. 18. 2. Polybius' statement that M. Atilius remained with the army and fell at Cannae rests apparently upon a confusion of his name with that of the former master of horse, spoken of simply as "Marcus." In 23. 21. 7, Livy mentions Atilius as commissioner for dedicating a temple.

7. **auctas . . . cernebat**: from the size of the camp, but see ch. 41. 5. — **mire**: more commonly *mirum in modum* or *mirifice.*

8. **superabat**: different from ch. 25. 17, and equivalent to *superesse*, as in ch. 49. 5, and 29. 24. 11, *qui superabant ex Cannensi exercitu.* — **erat**: the imperfect because Hannibal's risk was a continuous one; see on 21. 28. 4.

9. **Hispanorum**: they had the least interest in the defeat of the Romans. — **parata fuerit**: for the construction, see on 21. 1. 2, and cf. ch. 37. 2. The suppressed conclusion of *si . . . foret* is *transissent.*

41–44. An engagement. March from Gereonium and Larinum to Cannae.

41. 1. **Ceterum**: as in 21. 5. 1; 57. 5, this word indicates that Livy turns to a new authority (Valerius Antias?), from whom ch. 41 and 42 are taken as well as the conclusion of ch. 40, which forms the transition. This use of two authorities accounts for the repetition in ch. 43 (after Coelius?) of Hannibal's intended retreat to Gaul (ch. 32. 3), the threatened desertion of the Spaniards, the attempt of Hannibal to steal away, and the reconnaissance of Statilius. — **consulis**: the expression is harsh, since in ch. 40. 6, Livy had spoken of both consuls, but his authority had just before spoken of Varro. — **praedatoribus**: the Carthaginians. — **procursu** and **iussu** are causal with *orto*, which is connected to *tumultuario* by *ac* as a complementary explanation. — **ex praeparato**: for this use of the adjective, see on 21. 32. 7. — **haudquaquam par**: as in ch. 18. 4; 28. 13.

2. **Ad . . . septingenti**: *ad* is adverbial only when *mille* or *milia* precedes the hundreds; cf. ch. 54. 1; 21. 22. 3; 48. 2; 3. 15. 5; 4. 59. 7; otherwise *ad* is a preposition, as in ch. 50. 11. — **non . . . occisis**, *while not more than a hundred Romans and allies fell.* Livy often uses the abl. abs. with the perf. pass. part. in an aoristic sense, to add an accompanying circumstance that is really co-ordinate to the main statement (cf. 21. 1. 5; 5. 4; 37. 4), the subject of the abl. abs. being different from that of the main clause; A. & G. 255, d. 5; G. 409, R. 2; H. 431, 1.

3. **cuius . . . erat**: an addition of Livy's, since at that time (ch. 41. 42) Paulus and Varro had a joint command; see § 1, *imperatorum;* § 9, *locis;* ch. 42. 3, *ducerent;* § 12, *consules potentes.* Polybius, 3. 110 states that it was the custom when both consuls were in the field for them to command on alternate days. — **alternis**: sc. *diebus* from the preceding *die*, as in ch. 27. 6; generally it means "alternately" with *vicibus* supplied. — **emissum . . . e**: see on 21. 48. 6.

4. **haud aegerrime**: *haud* with a superlative is very rare, perhaps only here in Livy. W. — **inescatam**: cf. 41. 23. 8, *cum ferae bestiae cibum ad fraudem suam positum plerumque aspernentur et refugiant, nos caeci . . . inescamur.*

6. **fortunae publicae**: especially the military chest, which could not have been full, since in ch. 43. 3 the soldiers were clamoring for their overdue pay, but also the unsold plunder, as *privatae*

was what the soldiers had kept for themselves or received in the division. Their personal valuables had been left in Spain; see 21. 60. 9.

7. **trans**, *behind;* see on ch. 43. 7.

8. **inpedimenta**: whatever was necessary for military operations, and hence not contradictory to § 6.

9. **sicut**: refers only to *falsa imagine* (cf. ch. 16. 6, *ludibrio oculorum*), not to *castrorum*. In the spring of 217 also, according to Zonaras, 8. 25, Hannibal sought to conceal from the Romans his departure to Etruria by a stratagem. — **locis**, *their positions*. Plural with reference to the two camps; see ch. 40. 50; 44. 1.

42. 1. **stationes**: the Carthaginian pickets stationed in front of the camps. — **admirationem**: for the meaning, see on ch. 30. 1.

2. **nuntiantium**: depends on *concursus*. Livy often uses two words having the same form in such a way as to leave the meaning in doubt, as in 21. 17. 9; ch. 9. 6. — **reliquerint**: for the construction, see on 21. 1. 2. — **quoque** = *ut eo;* the adverbial part *eo* modifying *obscurior*, see on ch. 2. 10. — **obscurior**: separated from the modifying adverb *quo*, as in 2. 60. 1. So also *eo*, *multo*, *tanto*, *quam*, *tam*, etc., are often separated from the words they modify, as in 21. 2. 6; 24. 40. 14; Cic. Lael. 3. 10.

3. **signa proferri**: so in ch. 29. 2. — **protinus**, *on the way;* as in ch. 50. 11; 28. 13. 4.

4. **etiam atque etiam**: better join with *dicere;* see on ch. 13. 4. Paulus was compelled repeatedly to urge caution against the noisy haste of his colleague. — **Marium**: a Latinized Oscan name; see 23. 7. 8; 35. 13. — **praefectum**: the common title of the commander of the allied infantry, and also of the cavalry, as in 8. 7. 1. — **exploratum**: absolutely like *inexplorato* in ch. 4. 4, see note; elsewhere commonly with a dependent clause like *ubi hostes esset*, *quid agatur;* see 31. 3. 6; 33. 7. 4. — **mittit**: Paulus thus had independent action, cf. *iussit*, § 8; though in the alternation of the days of command this day was Varro's (see ch. 41. 2).

5. **cum cura**, *carefully*, *with exactness;* cf. a similar construction in 23. 11. 6; 31. 15; 33. 8.

6. **cara**, *valuables;* see on 21. 60. 9. — **in promptu**: *exposed to view*, as in 25. 29. 9.

7. **accenderunt**, *only kindled;* see on 21. 4. 7. — **signum**: that with the trumpet; see on 21. 59. 4.

8. **sua sponte**: independently of the omens. — **cunctanti**: hesitating to join his colleague as he marched out. — **auspicio**: in the sense of *auspicanti* (27. 16. 15), which is avoided for its nearness to *cunctanti*. The auspices were inseparable from the *imperium* (see ch. 30. 4; 28. 9. 10), but on the days of Varro's command Paulus had *auspicia minora*. — **non addixissent**, *had not been favorable*, because they would not eat the offered food; see 1. 36. 3; 10. 40. 4. — **nuntiari**: for the more definite *obnuntiari*, used when augurs or magistrates prevented a course of action by announcing unfavorable omens. *qui malam rem nuntiat, obnuntiat, qui bonam, adnuntiat; nam proprie obnuntiare dicuntur augures, qui aliquid mali ominis . . . viderunt;* Donatus, Ter. Ad. 547.

9. **primo Punico bello**: join with *clades; accepta* understood; see 21. 11. 3. — **memorata**: for the word, see on ch. 7. 1. — **clades**: a specially analogous case, since in the defeat at Drepanum Claudius had defied the omens, for when the chickens had refused to eat he ordered them to be thrown overboard, saying that if they would not eat they should drink.

10. **prope**: "it might almost be said." — **forte**, *providentially*; stands in opposition to human striving (*de industria*, ch. 46. 8; *consilia*, ch. 49. 14), and to immediate divine interposition (*divinitus*, 1. 4. 4), and implies only that the two prisoners had not escaped in order to warn the Romans of their danger. Yet in *prope* Livy hints at the divine ordering.

11. **servi**: *calones*, camp servants.

12. **potentes**: the diminished authority of Paulus, though shown by no definite act, is to be inferred from the conduct of Varro. — **apud eos**: the soldiers under his command for whose favor he was bidding.

43. 1. **nequiquam**, *without accomplishing anything* = *infecta re;* cf. ch. 1. 1; 47. 9; 9. 9. 14; 21. 37. 1; 28. 17. 14.

2. **in dies**: used with comparatives and words implying increase, decrease, or change (see on 21. 25. 14; cf. ch. 39. 15); hence with *novas* and *novare*, as 35. 42. 8; 44. 8. 3. — **conluvione omnium gentium**, *the offscouring of all nations*, i.e. of every kind, civilized and barbarous; cf. 28. 12. 3, *ex conluvione omnium gentium, quibus non lex, non mos, non lingua communis, alius habitus, alia vestis, alia arma, alii ritus, alia sacra, alii prope dei essent.*

3. **exposcentium**: note the repeated endings in *m*; cf. ch. 59. 16. — **annonam**, *scarcity*; cf. 2. 51. 2, *super bellum annona premente*. — **primo, postremo**: not a variation on *initio . . . deinde*, but implies other complaints not mentioned by Livy. — **fama . . . dicitur**: these statement have been made before as undoubted, but the author, whom Livy here follows, gave them with caution, or else Livy himself had come to distrust them. Appian, Hann. 17, says, "fearing that his mercenaries would desert because their pay was overdue."

4. **ita ut**: of closer definition, *in such a way that*; different from ὥστε, *so that*.

5. **consilia**: Hannibal's. — **habitus**: the soldiers'. — **messibus**: dative; cf. 2. 5. 3, *seges farris matura messi*. — **transfugia**: first found in Livy (W.), several times in Tacitus. — **levibus ingeniis**: refers particularly to the Spaniards (see ch. 21. 2), but perhaps also to the Gauls (see ch. 1. 3).

6. **similiter**: shows like *par priori* and *eundem* in § 7, that Livy was aware that he had stated a similar event, but that he regards it as a different one. — **par priori**: refer from the connection to ch. 41. 9, but in Livy's authority probably to the stratagem of the year 217; see ch. 16. 6.

7. **ultra**: indicates a point or place beyond which one passes, hence often used with the names of towns in accounts of marches; while **trans** indicates a boundary, mountain, stream, or wall, as in ch. 41. 7, but cf. 21. 5. 3; and for *ultra*, 26. 25. 17; 40. 41. 10.

8. **omnes**: all in the military council, consisting of *legati*, *tribuni*, *praefecti*, to whom would be referred all important questions, such as a change in the base of operations. — **Servilium**: Atilius was no longer with the army; see ch. 40. 6.

9. **ex . . . sententia**: as in ch. 9. 11, often associated with *consilii*. — **nobilitandas**, *for making famous*; cf. *nobilis* in ch. 7. 1; 39. 8, and *nobilitas* in 50. 1. — **Cannas**: Κάννα in Polybius, Κάνναι in Strabo. — **urgente fato**: so in 5. 22. 8, after Verg. Aen. 2. 653.

10. **posuerat**: according to Polybius, Hannibal had gone to Apulia before the new consuls left Rome. Livy does not allude to the statement of Polybius that Hannibal had captured the magazine of the Romans at Cannae, lest by so doing he should weaken his favorite representation that the Carthaginians lacked

supplies; see ch. 11. 4; 39. 14; 40. 9; 43. 3.—**Volturno**: the *Euros* of the Greeks, the present Sirocco, an east-southeast wind; see Seneca, Quaest. Nat. 5. 16; **vento** is added because there is also a river of that name; see ch. 15. 4. The name is from *voltur* (vulture), or according to later explanation from the mountain Voltur in Apulia.—**siccitate**: cf. Hor. Od. 3. 30. 11, *pauper aquae Daunus*.

11. **pulvere**: cf. ch. 46. 9. According to Zonaras, Hannibal ploughed the ground in order to increase the dust.

44–50. 3. Battle of Cannae, mainly after Polybius, 3. 110–117, but with additions from Roman sources, especially ch. 49.

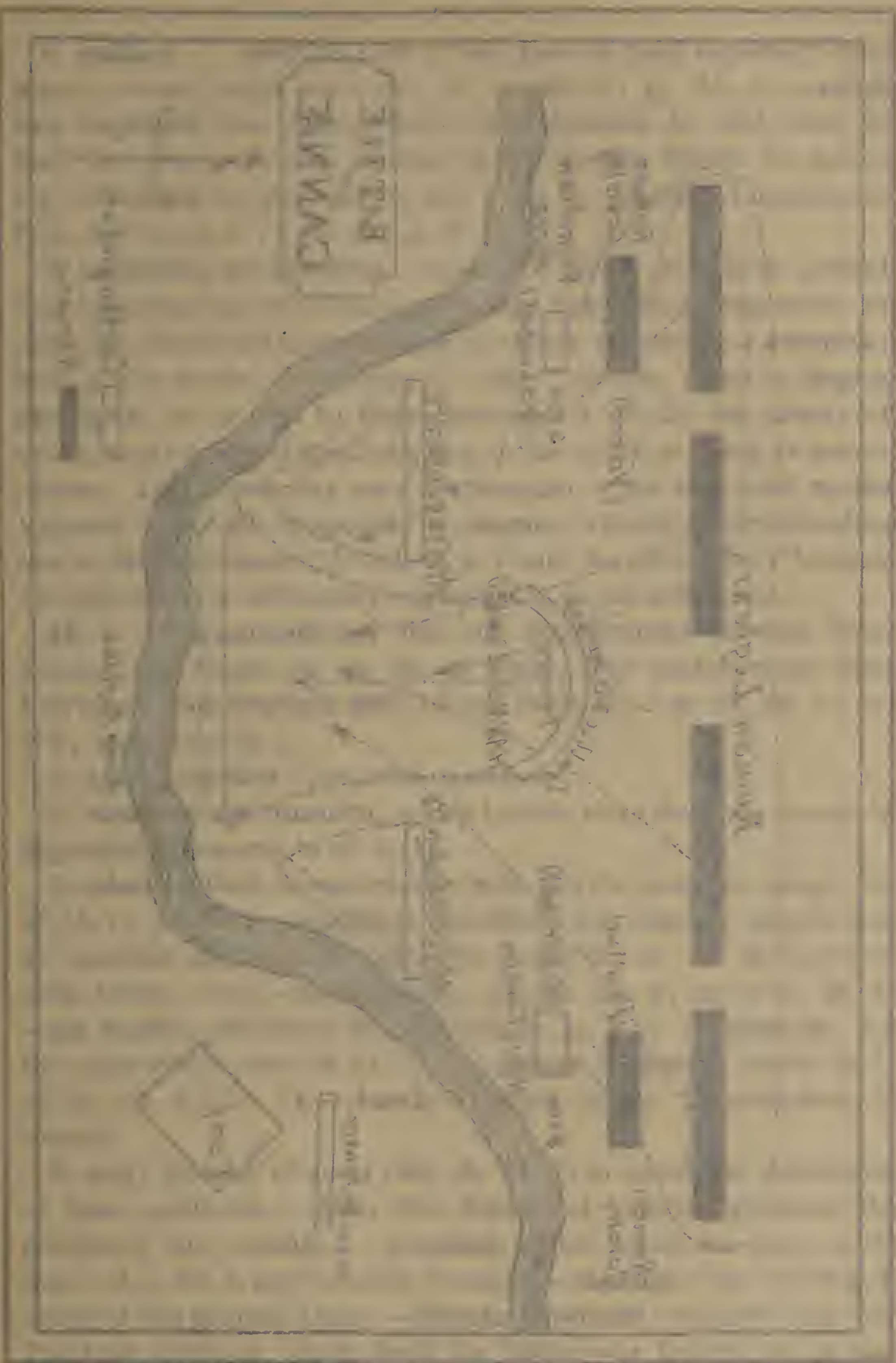
44. 1. **Poenum**: in the first instance Hannibal is meant, in the second the word is collective. *hostem* would have been better than the second *Poenum*. The collective singular of names of peoples occurs in prose only in Livy and later writers. Sallust uses collectively only *hostis*, *miles*, *pedes*, and *Maurus*, *Numida* (= *Bocchus*), *Iugurtha*.—**ventum est . . . habebant**: for the impersonal construction, see on 21. 35. 4; and for its association with the personal, cf. ch. 14. 3.—**intervallo**: according to Polybius, the lesser camp was about a mile from the larger one, and a little farther from the enemy, but in ch. 40. 5, no distance is mentioned.—**sicut . . . divisis**: means only that the troops were unequally divided between the two camps; see ch. 40. 6. Polybius places one-third in the smaller camp.

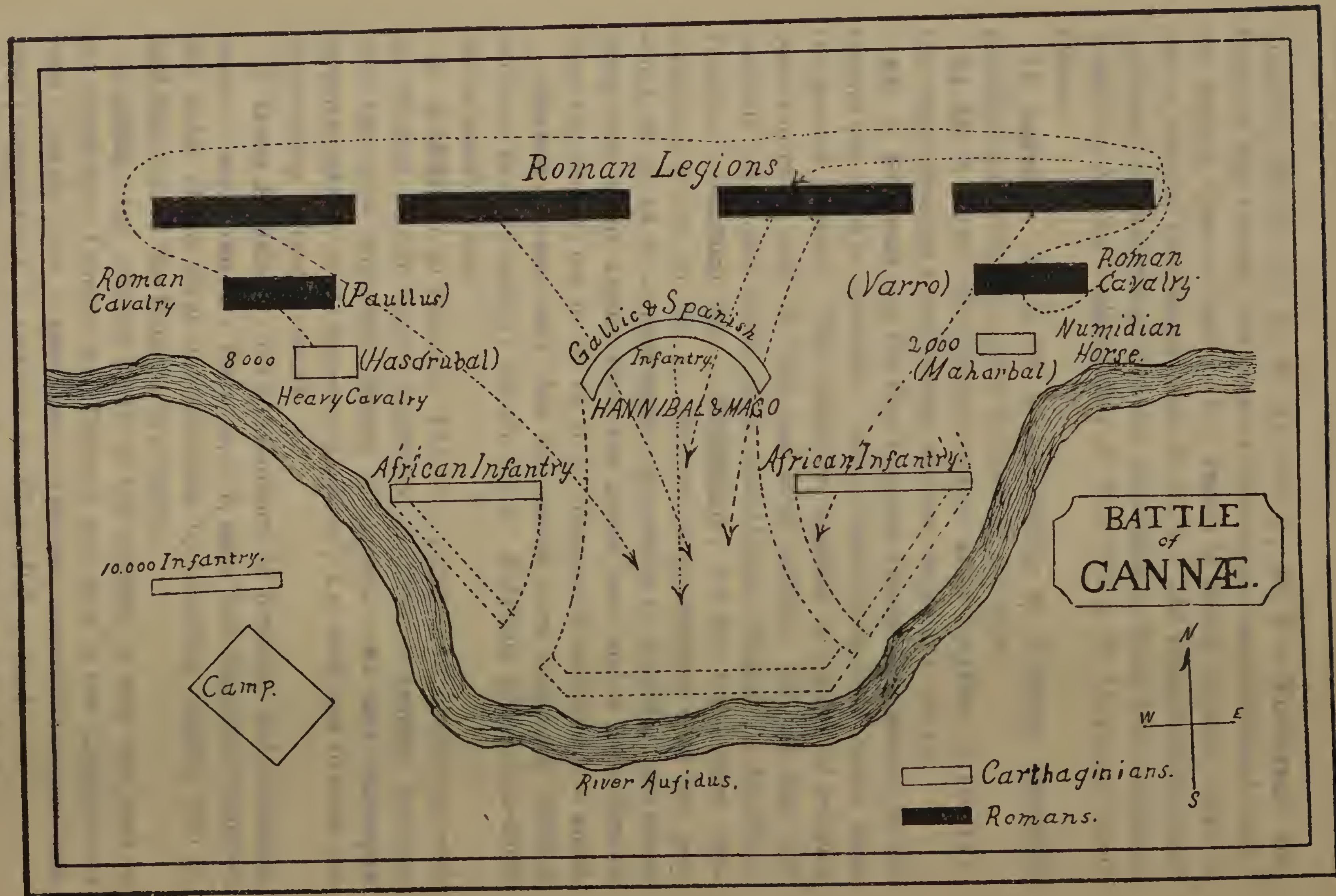
2. **Aufidius**: so Plutarch, Fab. 15, perhaps in confusion with the Roman gentile name, elsewhere Aufidus.—**amnis**: because it is the most important stream of Apulia.—**ex sua cuiusque opportunitate**, *as the opportunity offered;* i.e. each had to seize the opportunity as best he could.

3. **trans Aufidium**: for convenience of foraging and obtaining water.—**aquabantur**: Zonaras, 9. 1, says that Hannibal rendered the water of the river unserviceable by throwing corpses into it, and thus forced the Romans to a battle.

4. **natis**: the country north of the Aufidus is very flat, and to the south near Cannae and Barletta has only a few unimportant hills; see ch. 28. 6.—**invictus**: adjective; *invincibilis* is post-classical; see on ch. 7. 1, and see 21. 47. 1; Pol. 3. 10. 1.

5. **discordia**: betrays the Roman source; see ch. 41. 3.





BATTLE of CANNÆ.
Roman Legions
Roman Cavalry
(Paullus)
8000
(Hasdrubal)
Heavy Cavalry
Gallic & Spanish Infantry
HANNIBAL & MAGO
(Varro)
Roman Cavalry
2,000
Numidian Horse.
(Maharbal)
African Infantry
African Infantry
10.000 Infantry.
Camp.
River Aufidus.
Carthaginians.
Romans.
N
W
E
S

6. **nullam . . . esse**, *no fault of his; penes* is used especially with *gloria, victoria, culpa, noxa est;* cf. 21. 46. 8; 35. 33. 3. — **velut usu cepisset**, *had a prescriptive right;* because he had been in Italy two years, the time allowed by the Twelve Tables for securing ownership by possession; see 1. 46. 1. Similar comparisons from law in 24. 1. 7; 26. 29; 4. 37. 5.

7. **proiectis ac proditis**: see on 21. 29. 3. It will be noticed that Livy joins synonymous expressions much more commonly in speeches, direct and indirect, than in simple narration. — **eventus**: here a *vox media*, "outcome," "fate," *fortuna, casus.* — **lingua prompta**: so 31. 44. 3; *lingua promptus*, 2. 45. 15, not merely of quick, ready-tongued speakers, but of one quick to speak *in malam partem.* Livy commonly uses the singular when the word means "speech" or "gift of speech." — **aeque**: without a corresponding *tam* in the first clause (though it is found in good Mss.) because the opposition is sufficiently expressed in *lingua* and *manus.*

45. 1. **altercationibus**: like the disagreement between Sempronius and Scipio, in 21. 53, of which Livy makes more than Polybius. — **ad multum diei**, *till late in the day;* so ch. 52. 1; 27. 2. 9; see on 21. 33. 7.

2. **ex . . . castris**: join with *aquatores.*

3. **clamore ac tumultu**, *merely by their noisy shouting; clamor* in opposition to *impetus* in 26. 2. 11.

4. **adeo**: added in accordance with Livy's common usage; cf. 26. 11. 7; 32. 10. 7. — **auxilio**: elsewhere the singular usually has an abstract meaning, the plural a concrete; cf. 21. 22. 3, where both forms occur. — **iam etiam**: oftener *iam et*, as in ch. 48. 1. — **ea modo**: the same construction in 23. 4. 7. — **tenuerit**: for the construction, see on 21. 1. 2. — **penes . . . fuerit**, *Paulus had;* cf. ch. 15. 8; 25. 14. — **fuerit**: instead of *fuit* by attraction to *tenuerit.*

5. **cui**: instead of *cuius* (see ch. 41. 3) to avoid the succession of three genitives. — **diei**: the dependent genitive precedes the governing one. — **nihil . . . conlega**, *without asking his advice in the least;* cf. 9. 22. 4, *nihil consulto dictatore.* — **signum**: the red flag in front of the general's tent. — **flumen traduxit**: neither Livy nor Polybius states on which bank the battle was fought, but it was undoubtedly on the northern, as may be inferred from the fact

that the Carthaginian camp facing the north (ch. 43. 10) naturally opened toward the river and was thus on the south bank, and that the Romans, who apparently crossed the river first, drew up their lines facing the south, an arrangement which, if they had crossed to the southern bank, would have left their rear exposed to the subsequent advance of the Carthaginians.

6. **habuerant**: probably under the command of Servilius, as in ch. 40. 6. — **ita**, *as follows*. — **dextro**: the usual position of the Roman cavalry. According to Polybius, 3. 113. 5; 117. 2, and Appian, 17, the Roman cavalry was a little over 6000 strong, while according to ch. 36. 3, it would have been 7200, but incomplete enlistment, losses in the campaign and detachments for other service may well have reduced the number.

7. **intra**: as adverb is equivalent to *intus* or *introversus*, "within" or "toward the interior," but here with substantival force corresponding to *laevum cornu*, "the interior space." — **facta**: the verb agrees with the predicate noun rather than with a remote subject, especially if the predicate noun immediately precedes it. A. & G. 204, b.; G. 202, II. 3; H. 462.

8. **Gemino Servilio**: see on 21. 11. 1, and cf. ch. 32. 1; 40. 6. — **pugna**: for variation with *acies*. — **tuenda**: the idea of oversight, direction, not of defence; cf. 3. 70. 2; 27. 48. 4.

46. 1. **luce prima**: so in ch. 18. 2, and often, yet frequently in reverse order, as in ch. 28. 8; see on 21. 21. 8. — **quosque**: the plural indicating the separate divisions.

3. **dextrum**: on this side the river was not an obstacle to the rapid evolutions of the Numidians, in which their chief strength lay, though (ch. 48. 1) they seem to have made little use of them. — **firmata**, *composed of*; cf. 21. 56. 2. Hannibal's relative weakness in infantry justifies the abl. abs. instead of a finite verb. — **ita ut**: see on ch. 43. 4. — **utraque cornua**: i.e. the side lines of the infantry.

4. **[magna ex parte]**: doubtless an interpolation from the following line, since Polybius, whom Livy here follows, says that all the Africans were thus armed. — **et . . . ceterum**: instead of *et . . . et;* the opposition of the second clause is justified by *magna ex parte;* cf. 21. 18. 4. — **ad Trasumennum**: for the fact; see on ch. 9. 4.

5. **formae**: long and narrow, covering the whole body. — **dispares ac dissimiles**: in use and appearance. — **adsueto**: with inf. in 2. 6. 11; 23. 40. 10; with dat. in ch. 18. 3; 21. 16. 5; with *in aliquid* in 21. 33. 5; 24. 5. 9; in classical prose much more common than *consuetus*. — **Ante alios**, *above that of others*; cf. 25. 14. 13; 42. 60. 2, *ante alios Thracum insolens laetitia eminebat*. — **harum**: the unusual position after the noun is perhaps for euphony.

6. **nudi**: in 38. 21. 9, Livy says of the Gauls, *nudi pugnant et . . . corpora . . . quae nunquam nisi in pugna nudentur*. — **purpura**: the red was obtained partly from Carthaginian merchants (cf. Hor. Od. 2. 16. 35, *Afro murice*), and partly from the Baliaric Isles, where the snail was found from which it was made.

7. **Maharbal**: according to Polybius and Appian, Hanno was stationed here. — **ipse**: in order to turn the charge of the Roman legions upon the other troops and save the Africans as far as possible; cf. 21. 56. 2. — **Magone**: see on 21. 47. 4.

8. **Sol . . . erat**: in accord with Polybius. In the battle with the Cimbri at Vercellae the Romans had the advantage of the sun, which shone in the faces of their opponents; Plut. Marius, 26. — **locatis**: abl. abs.; sc. *exercitibus*.

9. **ventus**: Valerius Maximus, 7. 4. ext. 2; Frontinus, 2. 2. 7; Florus 1. 22. 16; Plut. Fab. 16, and Appian, Hann. 20, 22, 23, represent natural causes as having a large share in the Roman overthrow. Zonaras, 9. 1, speaks of a difficulty of breathing (see on ch. 43. 11), but Polybius does not consider it worth while to notice the stories. — **vocant**: the parenthesis without *eum*; cf. 1. 4. 5, *ficus . . . (Romularem vocatam ferunt)*. — **in ipsa ora**: see 21. 58. 3.

47. 1. **commissa**: this opening move of the battle, as at the Ticinus (see on 21. 46. 6), was completed by the retiring of the light armed between the ranks of the troops behind them. — **deinde**: the second stage was the advance of Hannibal's heavy cavalry against the numerically inferior and weaker Roman cavalry. — **equestris more pugnae**: usually consisting of charge and evolution; see 21. 52. 11, and Sall. Jug. 59. 3, *equestri proelio, sequi, dein cedere*. The Romans probably chose their position in the expectation of an encounter that would partly offset their inferior cavalry force.

3. **nitentes**: synesis. — **vir virum amplexus**: ancient warfare presents many instances of cavalry dismounting, but it is to be

understood that slaves held the horses, or that a part of the cavalry troop itself performed this service; see 2. 20. 10; 21. 46. 6; 29. 2. 15. Cf. Caesar's account of the British chariots, B. G. 4. 33. — **acrius**: Polybius says that most of the Romans were killed in the struggle, and that the rest were cut down while fleeing along the river bank. That Paulus suffered this defeat neither Livy nor Polybius expressly mentions; see on ch. 49. 1.

4. **peditum pugna**: the third stage in the battle. — **viribus et animis**: a common combination for physical and moral vigor; cf. ch. 52. 4; 21. 55. 8. — **constabant**, *held their ground;* stronger than the simple *stabant* (27. 1. 10), referring to the maintaining of the line of battle.

5. **diu ac saepe**: exaggeration; Polybius says ἐπὶ βραχύ. — **conisi**: used of heavy attacking columns, and therefore often joined with *omnes*, *omnibus copiis*, etc.; cf. 3. 70. 5; 9. 31. 12. — **obliqua fronte**: the outside lines of the infantry had wheeled inward that they might better surround the crescent-shaped front of the Carthaginians, and thus their own front became concave. — **acieque densa**: the Roman lines were made unusually deep, perhaps owing to course of the river, which prevented an extended front, and thus the advantage of their superior numbers was largely lost.

6. **tenore uno**: a steady, uninterrupted advance; a popular form of speech; cf. Cic. Orat. 6. 21, *uno tenore, ut aiunt;* see on ch. 37. 10. — **praeceps . . . agmen**, *through the stream of those rushing back in headlong panic. praeceps* often joined with verbs of motion is also used with substantives of corresponding verbal meaning, e.g. *fuga, agmen. pavore* is to be taken with *praeceps;* cf. 3. 15. 6, *praecipites pavore.* — **mediam . . . aciem**: the expression is obscure, since the Carthaginian infantry was not arranged like the Roman in three lines, but probably it is an inexact turn of Polybius' πεπυκνωκότες ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα, the middle of the space first occupied by the Carthaginians. It is more fully explained in § 8. — **subsidia**: not reserves, but explained by *qui . . . constiterant.* Polybius, 3. 113. 9, says that it was Hannibal's intention to have the brunt of the battle fall upon the Gauls and Spaniards, and to support them with the Africans.

8. **pulsus**: like *inpellere*, § 5. — **circa**: on both sides; see on 21

43. 4. — **ab tergo**: they did not absolutely surround the Romans, whose three lines of *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii* seem to have advanced, but pushed by the flanks so as to reach the rear. The enclosure was made afterward by the cavalry under Hasdrubal, but that it had not yet occurred is shown by the fact that Paulus joined the centre in ch. 49. 1.

10. **fessi**: exhaustion from wounds as well as weariness from fighting; cf. ch. 49. 5; 52. 2; 59. 4. The word often recurs in accounts of battles. Livy's description of the battle is in the main clear. The thin Carthaginian centre, composed of Gauls and Spaniards, formed a crescent supported at each end by the Africans. The Roman charge broke in the crescent, and in their pursuit of the retreating line the legions passed by the Africans, who, facing in toward the centre, thus fell upon the flanks of the Romans, and by extending their lines compressed the Romans into the centre of of a circle where their numbers were of no avail.

48. 1. The fourth point of the battle, though the action was contemporaneous with the second and third. The following stratagem is unknown to Polybius. — **segne**: according to Polybius the Numidians were unable either to rout or to inflict serious loss upon the allied cavalry that opposed them. For the expression, cf. § 5; 27. 2. 8. — **fraude**: for the explanation, see on ch. 21. 4. 9.

2. **Numidae**: Appian, Hann. 20, says they were Celtiberians. He further states that Hannibal concealed in a woody ravine a detachment of cavalry and light-armed troops, which after the battle had begun fell upon the rear of the Romans, — a repetition of the stratagem at the Trebia; see 21. 54.

3. **in mediam aciem**: in Appian's account this is perfectly clear, since the Celtiberians (foot-soldiers?) deserted to the Roman centre, and being received by Servilius, were sent to the rear of the infantry. Livy's substitution of Numidians for Celtiberians necessarily transfers the scene to the right wing, and yet they appear (§ 4) in the rear of the Roman infantry. — **considere**: used especially of the triarii, cf. 8. 8. 10, *triarii sub vexillis considebant;* here to "find a place behind the line."

4. **occupaverat**: so in ch. 15. 6. — **scutis**: according to Appian, those of fallen Roman foot-soldiers, so that as the Romans could not easily distinguish them from friends, their stratagem was all

the more successful. — **ac poplites**: cf. Hor. Od. 3. 2. 16, *nec parcit inbellis iuventae poplitibus timidoque tergo.* Note the fourfold use of *ac* within a few lines.

5. **alibi . . . alibi**: left wing and centre of the Romans. — **Hasdrubal**: Livy's account is here confused since he abandons Polybius in order (ch. 49) to take from a Roman source. Polybius clearly says that Hasdrubal, after his success on the left Carthaginian wing, passed around the legions to the help of the Numidians on the right. At his attack the allied cavalry broke and fled, and assuming command of all the Carthaginian horse, he despatched the Numidians in pursuit of the fugitives, and with his own heavy cavalry fell upon the rear of the Roman infantry. — **subductos . . . Numidas**: not the 500 Numidians as *ex media acie* seem to imply, but those in § 1, to whom the thought is carried back by *quia segnis . . . pugna.* It is difficult to explain *ex media acie* from Livy's point of view, but it seems to imply, if in fact he was clear in his conception of the situation, that after the union of all the cavalry forces, the Numidians formed the centre flanked by the Gauls and Spaniards, and that from this centre they were now withdrawn. — **fugientis**: the allied cavalry, whose rout Livy has only obscurely indicated in *terror ac fuga.*

49. 1–3. The further progress of the battle is described by Livy from a Roman standpoint, which results in several discrepancies. According to Appian (after Fabius ?), Paulus commanded the infantry in the centre from the beginning of the battle, having about him a body-guard of 1000 picked cavalry-men, that he might support any threatened point. Here also he appears to have been wounded by a sling, but, according to Livy's account, it is difficult to see how he could have received such a wound in the cavalry engagement on the right wing. Livy says that he often charged Hannibal and the Carthaginian infantry, protected by his mounted body-guard, though ch. 47. 3 represents the Roman cavalry as cut down or scattered. In order to harmonize these statements with those of Polybius, Livy should have stated, as Polybius does, that Paulus passed from the right wing to the centre. In a similar way, in the accounts of the battles at the Ticinus, the Trebia, and Lake Trasumennus Livy has joined to the statements of Polybius additions from Roman sources; see Dodge's *Great Captains, Hannibal.*

1. **Parte altera**: this does not well accord with the accounts of the battle thus far, since in ch. 47 and 48 the different parts of the battle-field are described, but perhaps Livy meant another part of the field than the one where Paulus first was. — **primo . . . proelio**: during the engagement of the light-armed troops.

3. **protegentibus**: of persons, as in 21. 46. 9. — **omissis**: cf. *omittere arma*, 21. 58. 3. — **denuntianti**: the word is used here with reference to the importance of the announcement. So generally in the older language and in the popular speech verbs compounded with *de* serve as intensives of their primitives. See on ch. 38. 6; cf. 60. 13, and Cic. de Or. 2. 63. 256. — **ad pedes descendere**, *to dismount*; Plutarch, Fab. 16, and Appian, Hann. 24, give a weaker version, saying nothing of a reported order to dismount, but representing the cavalry as acting on their impression of the consul's wish. — **ferunt**: Livy thus recognizes the statement as doubtful; cf. ch. 7. 13; 25. 19; 30. 10; 21. 2. 3. It does not appear in Polybius. — **quam mallem**: the remark is ironical, meaning that it would have been as well for them to have been surrendered, since now their death was sure. If they had remained on their horses they might have escaped; cf. *quam mallem*, 10. 19. 8; *quam vellem*, Cic. de Fin. 3. 3. 10; Ter. Ad. 532. Plutarch, misunderstanding, says, "This pleases me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot." — **traderet**: sc. *consul*.

4. **pellere . . . Pepulerunt**: showing that the rear was not entirely closed; see on ch. 47. 8.

6. **praetervehens**: elsewhere used by Livy of navigation only transitively, with *oram*, 21. 41. 3, *montes*, *portum*, *sinum*, etc. (see on ch. 20. 7); of riding only intransitively, *praevehi*, as in 10. 36. 6; 24. 44. 10.

7. **comes**: he would support him by mounting behind him.

8. **feceris**: for the construction, see on 21. 44. 6. — **sine hoc**: oftener *sine hac re*, since the neut. abl. sing. is liable to be confounded with the masc. — **lacrimarum . . . luctus**: a common alliteration in other authors; cf. 6. 3. 4; similarly 25. 38. 8, *lamentis lacrimisque*.

9. **macte virtute**: cf. 23. 15. 14, usually joined with the imperative of *esse*; with the infinitive in 2. 12. 14. From the same stem as *magnus*, perhaps equivalent to *aucte*. Perhaps the word is a voca-

tive, or an adverb. A. & G. 241, d. and n.; G. 324, Rem. 1; Am. Journ. Philology, Vol. I. pp. 135–140.

10. **Abi, nuntia**: usually with asyndeton; cf. ch. 3. 13; 1. 16. 7; 25. 38. 22, *ite, corpora curate.* — **urbem Romanam**: so ch. 32. 5; 37. 12; 21. 57. 1. For the order, see on ch. 9. 2; 55. 4. — **priusquam . . . advenit**: present instead of future, as in ch. 50. 8; 2. 40. 5.

12. **oppressere . . . obruere**: the perfect form *ere*, avoided by Cicero, belongs to the older language, but occurs in historical writings, especially in descriptions of battles, since so much is taken from the *annales maximi*. In Sallust this form is regularly used in historical narration. — **undique** = *ab omnibus partibus*; cf. ch. 29. 5. — **fugiunt**: see on *pellere*, § 4.

14. **quinquaginta**: so. ch. 50. 3, and 23. 11. 9, but in a speech in 25. 6. 13, and in Pol. 3. 117, seventy is the number given.

15. **Quadraginta quinque**: the loss, according to Eutropius, 3. 10, was 40,000 infantry and 3500 cavalry; according to 25. 6. 13, and to Appian, 50,000; according to Quintilian, 8. 6. 26, 60,000; and according to Pol. 3. 117, about 70,000. — **tantadem**, *equally great*; a rare form, the classical writers employing only *tantundem* and the genitive *tantidem*, yet the jurists have *tantandem summam, partem.* — **dicuntur**: see on *ferunt*, § 3, and cf. § 18.

16. **L. Atilius**: not the consul of the year 217; see ch. 40. 6. — **undetriginta**: of the entire 48; see ch. 53. 1. — **consulares**: in apposition with *tribuni militum*. According to Eutropius, 3. 10, (*perierunt*) *consules et praetorii XX, senatores capti aut occisi XXX, nobiles viri CCC.* The periocha of this book states the loss as 90 senators and 30 ex-consuls, praetors or aediles.

17. **sua voluntate**: *as volunteers* = *volentes*; cf. ch. 38. 3, and see on 21. 39. 4.

50. 1. **Haec . . . pugna**: similar to ch. 7. 1. — **Alliensi cladi**: the famous battle with the Gauls, 390 B.C., whose anniversary was ever after marked as a *dies ater* in the calendar. — **nobilitate**: cf. ch. 43. 9, *nobilitandas.*

3. **namque**: occupies the second place, as in 2. 36. 4; 3. 44. 6, and elsewhere; so in Curtius and Tacitus, but not in Caesar, Cicero, or Sallust. — **sicut . . . ita**: as in 21. 35. 11. — **prope totus**: implies a larger loss than ch. 49. 15.

50. 4—**54.** 6. Surrender of the two Roman camps: condition of the fugitives. Independent of Polybius.

4. **Binis**: see ch. 44. 1. — **semiermis**: because a disorderly crowd (*turba inbellis*, 23. 16. 14) had been left in the camps, and the fugitives from the battle had thrown away their weapons; see ch. 49. 13; 52. 2; 54. 2. — **ex laetitia**: join with *epulis*; see § 3. — **fatigatos**: literal with *proelio*, figurative with *epulis*, equivalent to *oneratos, gravatos* (1. 7. 5, *cum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset*). — **Canusium**: if the town was nearer the larger camp and this fact was the basis of the request of those in that camp, it is an additional reason for thinking that the larger camp was on the right bank.

5. **venire**: the rhetorical question is very frequent in the *oratio obliqua*; cf. ch. 34. 9; 40. 2. A. & G. 338; G. 654, 2; H. 523, II. 2. — **coniungi**: sc. *sibi*; passive, as in 21. 51. 7.

6. **Sempronius Tuditanus**: afterward aedile (see 24. 43. 8). According to Appian, Hann. 26, he was chosen leader by those in the larger camp, and thus speaks as commander. — **avarissimo et crudelissimo**: rhetorical phrases, cf. ch. 59. 14. — **interrogantibus**: because the Romans were treated as prisoners, the *socii* were released, or ransomed at a lesser price; see on ch. 7. 5; 52. 8. — **Latinus**: adjective, added only for the antithesis, and with the same meaning as *socius*, since Livy does not intend to make a distinction between the Italian allies; see ch. 58. 2.

7. **Non tu**: where we should use an emphatic "no, not." The change from the plural to the singular and the use of *tua* and *tu* make the scene very vivid, as if the speaker had singled out an individual, perhaps one who was hesitating, and addressed him personally; sc. *males*. — **bene**, *with honor*; cf. 21. 42. 4.

8. **antequam opprimit**: see on ch. 49. 10. — **maiora**: "more numerous"; analogous to *magnae copiae*; cf. 21. 43. 3. — **inordinati . . . inconpositi**, *with broken lines and disordered companies*; these words are often joined, as in ch. 56. 2. — **obstrepunt**: of the Numidians who rode back and forth with noisy shouts before the gates of the camp.

9. **via fit**: as in ch. 5. 2. The thought is a general one, since the necessity of breaking through the close lines of the enemy was not yet apparent. — **quamvis per**: for the position of the preposition, see on 21. 49. 11. — **ut si**: commonly *velut si*. — **rem publicam salvam vultis**: a common formula; cf. ch. 10. 2; 53. 7; 34. 25. 9

10. **haec ubi dicta dedit**: a half-verse common in Vergil and other poets; but, though the hexameter is here continued even to the second line, it is not necessary to suppose that Livy took the verse directly from Ennius, since according to Fronto, Coelius had already borrowed much from that poet. — **vadit**: paints the composed bearing and the steady progress over the field of battle with its heaps of corpses.

11. **Numidae**: these had been sent in pursuit; see ch. 48. 2. — **in dextrum**: perhaps from Coelius, Frag. 22, *dextimos in dextris scuta iubet habere.* — **ad sescentos**: not *ad sescenti;* see on ch. 41. 2; cf. *periere ad septingentos*, 10. 33. 6; *ad octingentos caesi*, 28. 36. 13. According to Pseudo Frontin, 4. 5. 7, only 12 horsemen and 50 footmen followed the counsel of the tribunes Sempronius and Cn. Octavius (see 28. 38. 11). — **protinus**: see on ch. 42. 3; for events in the larger camp, see ch. 52. 4.

12. **impetu**: an instinctive impulse, a sudden determination, as in 26. 7. 3, in opposition to *consilio*, the conclusion reached after long reflection, as in 2. 57. 2; 42. 29. 11. — **quos**: one would have expected *quem* referring to *impetum.* Some were impelled by the strength of their character, some by their great need.

51. 1. **bello**: only in the later Latin does the word equal *proelium;* cf. 21. 8. 2. It implies that the campaign was virtually ended by this victory; see ch. 55. 2. — **diei . . . esset**, *the rest of the day;* about two hours. For the position of *diei*, cf. ch. 59. 4 and 26. 10. 10. For *quietem,* cf. ch. 9. 5; 21 11. 3; 27. 6. — **Maharbal**: others ascribe the expression to a Barcas or to Mago. Coelius, in Gellius, 10. 24. 6, *si vis mihi equitatum dare et ipse cum cetero exercitu me sequi, die quinto Romae in Capitolium curabo tibi cena sit cocta, et historiam autem et verbum hoc* (this expression) *sumpsit Coelius ex origine M. Catonis.*

2. **cessandum**: as in 50. 2. — **venisse**: sc. *te* from *sequere.*

3. **maior . . . quam . . . posset**, *too great to be at once comprehended.* The emphasis is on *statim;* for the construction, see on 21. 29. 2. — **temporis**: so 23. 21. 5, *quanti argenti opus fuit*, a Graecism; cf. 26. 11. 4.

4. **vincere . . . uti**: note the simple infinitive with *scire* and *nescire* where we say "know how to do," etc. — **satis creditur**: so 21. 8. 3. This was not the belief of Livy's time merely, but Plutarch ascribes

Hannibal's delay to a divine influence. In view of Hannibal's comparative weakness in infantry, his lack of a siege train, the strength of the city's walls, the season of the year when the heat developed malaria in the country about Rome, we may well believe that Hannibal's judgment was wiser than Maharbal's.

5. **insistunt**: elsewhere with the infinitive or dative; cf. 37. 60. 2; Tac. Hist. 3. 77, *perdomandae Campaniae;* often with *vestigiis*. It paints the eagerness of the Carthaginians. Appian, Hann. 26, says that Hannibal went straightway from the battle to visit the fallen.

6. **ut . . . iunxerat**, *under the grouping of chance;* literally "as chance put one next to each one." — **pugna . . . fuga**: instrumental abl. — **stricta**: the pain caused by the cold roused them from their torpor.

7. **succisis . . . poplitibus**: cf. ch. 48. 4. Perhaps Ennius had stated this as an act of Carthaginian cruelty; Annal. 8. 5, *is* (= *iis*) *pernas succidit iniqua superbia Poeni*, as many other similar acts were laid to Hannibal's charge, e.g. Val. Max. 9. 2. ext. 2, *captivos nostros prima pedum parte succisa relinquebat*. All of these Livy justly and to his credit passes over as unauthentic. — **cervicem**: the earlier writers and also Cicero and Sallust use the word only in the plural; see on ch. 33. 6. — **haurire**: cf. 26. 13. 13, *sanguinis hauriendi*, 7. 10. 10, *ventrem ictu*. For the omission of the subject, cf. Hor. Od. 2. 3. 16, *ferre iube*.

8. **superiecta**: for the participle, see on 21. 1. 5. — **interclusisse**: for the meaning, see on 21. 58. 4.

9. **convertit**: sc. *in se*, as often. "The whole passage is strongly characteristic of Livy. Notice especially (1) the way in which *Numida* is grammatically, while the whole scene is logically, the subject of *convertit;* (2) the explanatory use of *cum;* (3) the two ablatives absolute, *manibus inutilibus* and *in rabiem ira versa*, and (4) the use of *laniando* (cf. ch. 3. 10; 39. 9) instead of the present participle. In a modern language the sentence would wear a very different aspect, e.g. 'But what amazed them most of all was the sight of a living Numidian lying under the body of a dead Roman. The ears and nose of the African were terribly mangled, for his enemy, when his hands could no longer hold his sword, had turned from rage to fury, and died tearing him with his teeth.'" Tatham.

— **superincubanti**: ἅπαξ εἰρημένον instead of *insuper incumbenti* (cf. ch. 2. 8) since Livy in general uses but few double compounds, mostly those with *super* and *in*, and these he usually avoids; cf. *superincido*, 2. 10. 11; 23. 15. 13; *superinsterno*, 30. 10. 5, but *insuper inpono*, 21. 1. 5. — **rabiem**: the highest form of fury, the degree above *ira*; cf. 21. 48. 3; Hor. Od. 1. 15. 12, *Pallas . . . rabiem parat*; of wild beasts, 26. 13. 12; proverbial, *rabies Saguntina*, 31. 17. 5. — **versa**, *changing*, for which the intransitive *vertere* is also used.

52. 1. **multum diei**: for the meaning, see on ch. 45. 1. — **brachio**: an intrenchment either of earth or stone (cf. 31. 26. 8, *murus qui brachiis* (τὰ σκέλη) *duobus Piraeum Athenis iungit*), so called more with reference to its position than its construction. Its object here was to cut off the camp from its water supply; see ch. 59. 6.

2. **Ceterum . . . deditio**, *since all were exhausted, they surrendered*, etc.; Livy avoids his favorite abl. abs. to prevent the use of *ab iis* in the main clause, but cf. 1. 28. 10, *admotis quadrigis, in currus earum illigat*, and also to set *omnibus* in strong contrast to the division in the larger camp.

3. **trecenis**: abl. of price with *pacti*, interrupting the *ut* construction, though it is really co-ordinate with it, i.e. "they agreed to pay 300," etc. The year before the ransom was set at 210 denarii; see ch. 23. 6. For the construction, see on 21. 41. 6. — **servos**: as in ch. 42. 11. — **singulis . . . vestimentis**: see on ch. 6. 11. — **traditi**: Polybius gives a different account, saying that Paulus left 10,000 men in camp with orders to attack the Carthaginian camp during the battle. This they did and were almost successful, when Hannibal, returning after the battle was decided, drove them back to their own camp, where they surrendered only after a stubborn resistance in which they lost 2000 men. — **seorsum** = *sevorsum*, as *prorsum* = *provorsum*, etc., in late Latin often wrongly *seorsim*.

4. **Dum . . . interea**: see on 21. 29. 1. — **virium**: "bodily strength," as the opposition of *sauciis* shows.

5. **si quid**: not in a belittling sense, as in 21. 37. 4. *erat* is omitted owing to its proximity in the parenthesis. — **facto**: plate for table use. — **omnis cetera**: only here in Livy in this order, instead of *cetera omnis*; cf. ch. 20. 6; 24. 22. 15, analogous to *reli-*

qua, alia omnia. "Cicero twice has *omnium ceterarum*, De Fin. 5. 20. 57; De Or. 2. 17. 72." Capes. — **diripienda**: one would have expected *militi*, since this word is better suited to *castra*.

6. **sepeliendi**: used both of burial (*humare*), in the law of the XII Tables, *hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito*, and of cremation (*cremare, comburere*) in 8. 24. 16, *sepultum ossaque ad hostes remissa.* — **dicuntur**: leaving Polybius, who says that 4000 Gauls, 1500 Spaniards, and 200 horsemen fell. — **fortissimorum**: all who fell were veteran troops, not that there were 8000 of these besides others. — **conquisitum**: Hannibal's custom with honorable foes; see ch. 7. 5; 25. 17. 4; 27. 28. 1.

7. **Busa**: cf. the Oscan name *Busidius* on a stone found at Canusium (Momm. Corp. Ins. N. 647), and the river name *Busento.* — **moenibus**: see on ch. 19. 12. — **etiam**: as in § 2.

53. 1. **de legione**: often in such connection instead of a genitive. The failure to mention the other five legions is noticeable.

3. **admodum adulescentem**: now nineteen years of age; see on 21. 46. 7. Appian, Hann. 26, states that Varro, having collected the scattered remnant of his forces, gave the command to Scipio and set out for Rome. — **summa imperii**: the two had the authority that belonged to the consul who had not yet come to Canusium; see ch. 54. 1.

4. **inter paucos**: not a regular council of war. — **summa rerum**, *the condition of the state;* see on 21. 16. 2. — **nequiquam . . . fovere**, *it was useless for them to nourish a hope which was already destroyed;* the figure of *fovere* is from the care of the sick; that of *desperatam* from the giving up of a sick man by the physician, and of *conploratam* from mourning for the dead; cf. ch. 55. 3 and 7.

5. **quorum** = *et eorum; esse* is to be supplied as the clause is a parenthesis. A. & G. 336, c.; G. 638; H. 524, 1, 1. — **L. Caecilium Metellum**: in 24. 18. 3 and 27. 11. 12 he is called *Marcus.* — **mare ac naves**: as in ch. 19. 7; 21. 32. 2. — **ad regum aliquem**: to serve as mercenaries. So Plautus, Trin. 598, 599, says of a young man who has lost his home, *Ibit . . . Latrocinatum, aut in Asiam aut in Ciliciam,* and 722, *aliquem ad regem . . . erus se coniexit meus.*

6. **praeterquam**: Livy uses *praeterquam* with a single word oftener than *praeterquam quod* with a clause; cf. 4. 17. 6; 30. 6. 4. — **stupore ac miraculo**: hendiadys, as 1. 59. 2, *stupentibus mira-*

culo; miraculo = *malum novum.* — **torpidos**: "senseless," "powerless to act"; of those sunk in sleep, 25. 38. 17; here of a condition to which *stupor* is antecedent, as in 9. 10. 2, *stupor ac velut torpor quidam membra tenet;* the adjective is thus proleptic, *ita defixit ut ex stupore torpidi essent.* — **fatalis**, *appointed by fate;* so 30. 28. 11; cf. 21. 46. 8.

7. **audendum atque agendum**: as in ch. 14. 14. — **ait**: emphasizes Scipio's statement more than if the affirmative were to be supplied by zeugma from the preceding *negat*, as is often the case.

8. **ea** = *talia.*

9. **Pergit ire**: corresponding to *irent extemplo*, § 7; see on ch. 19. 4.

10. **ex mei animi sententia**, *on my soul;* sc. *iuro.* The formula of an oath, according to Cicero, De Off. 3. 29. 108, *quod ex animi tui sententia iuraris, sicut verbis concipitur more nostro*, different from *ex sententia, to one's satisfaction.* Before *ut . . . patiar*, supply *ita me di ament* or *iuvent*, the antithesis to § 11, *pessimo leto;* see on ch. 59. 17. *patiar* is future.

11. **si sciens fallo**: for the usage, see on 21. 45. 8; Cic. Acad. Pr. 47. 146, *maiores primum iurare "ex sui animi sententia" quemque voluerunt; deinde ita teneri, "si sciens falleret."* — **tum me**: conclusion to *si fallo;* cf. ch. 10. 2 and 1. 24. 8 in the formula of a treaty; preferable to the reading *tu me* of the later Mss. referring to *ut ego.*

12. **postulo**: since he had first bound himself by an oath.

13. **semet ipsos**: so ch. 60. 24; 21. 14. 4; more commonly *semet ipsi;* cf. ch. 22. 14; 21. 14. 1.

54. 1. **Venusiam**: the birthplace of Horace, made a Roman colony in 292 B.C., as Canusium was in 318 B.C.

2. **per**: distributive, as in 21. 55. 1. — **benigne**: the common expression of hospitality; cf. 2. 14. 8; 35. 6; also *comiter*, 29. 22. 2; more closely defined by *curandos;* see on 21. 31. 1. — **togas**: the dress of peace, in opposition to the military cloak, *sagum* (cf. ch. 38. 9), yet worn by officers and knights in garrisons, and even in the field. The tunic was supplied to the common soldiers; hence in army supplies mentioned in 29. 36. 3, and 44. 16. 4, the proportion of togas to tunics is $\frac{1}{10}$ and $\frac{1}{5}$ respectively. — **quinos vicenos**: according to Polybius, 6. 39, the pay of a knight was one denarius a day; that of a foot-soldier $\frac{1}{3}$ as much. The gifts here made,

counting the clothing, were in the same proportion and amounted to about a month's pay for each man, the knight receiving about $4.85 in money. — **pediti**: the association of the dative and *in* with the accusative occurs also in 35. 40. 6, and 45. 34. 5.

4. **multitudo**: the numbers increased from day to day, as implied in *et iam . . . erant*, and this is the explanation of *gravius*.

6. **consularis exercitus**: reckoned as two legions. These legions were afterward known as *legiones Cannenses*. They were sent to Sicily, and as a penalty made to do garrison duty during the remainder of the war; see 23. 25. 7; 24. 18. 9. — **moenibus . . . armis**, *behind fortifications if not in the open field.* — **certe, etsi**: analogous to 2. 43. 8, *etsi non adhortatio . . . saltem flagitium . . . cogere potuit*, but elsewhere Livy employs *etsi* only in short negative concessive expressions in connection with adjectives and participles; cf. 27. 40. 9, *gaudium meritum certe etsi non honestum;* with substantives he uses only *si non;* cf. ch. 29. 11; 21. 41. 8, *respiceret si non patriam victam, domum certe.* — **defensuri**, *in the condition to defend.* A. & G. 293, 2; G. 279; H. 549, 2.

54. 7—**57.** Affairs in Rome. The account is taken from a Roman source.

7. **occidione occisum**: of utter overthrow; so in 2. 51. 9; 3. 10. 11; 4. 58. 9, and often; cf. 29. 27. 3, *auctibus auxitis.*

8. **salva urbe**: the terrible day of the battle on the Allia is thus excluded since the city was then destroyed; see ch. 50. 1. The *terror Cimbricus* was less, since the Cimbri were farther away, and not so great an army was destroyed. — **ne** = *nedum, not to;* "this usage arises from the prevention of the occurrence of the greater event being rhetorically regarded as the purpose of the occurrence of the less event." Roby, 1658; A. & G. 317, c. Rem.; G. 484, R. 2; H. 483, 3, n.; cf. 3. 52. 9. — **neque**, *also not.* Livy could hardly have surpassed his description of the state of Rome on the receipt of the news of the defeat at Trasumennus; see ch. 7. He doubtless felt the difficulty of a second description, but at the same time his refusal to say more is a skilful rhetorical device by which he leaves the details of the picture to the reader's imagination, and yet gives it a basis upon which to work in the following comparison between Trasumennus and Cannae. — **edissertando**: a complete detailed description. The word is ἅπαξ εἰρημένον in good

prose, but, like *dissertare*, is ante- and post-classical; the classical word is *edisserere;* as in 27. 7. 4. — **minora vero**: like the frequent *maiora vero;* ch. 21. 32. 7; 27. 44. 10.

9. **multiplex**: see on ch. 36. 1. Appian, Hann. 25, states that the loss of the Romans and their allies thus far in the war was nearly 100,000 men. Livy says that this defeat was not simply a second one, but was like the death wound of a gladiator following a previous but not deadly wound. — **castra**: armies in the field. There were garrisons in Rome and other places. The clause depends on a verb to be supplied from *nuntiabantur.*

10. **mole**: more vivid than *tam gravi clade;* the adjective *molestus* is not used in this sense.

11. **Sardinia**: not immediately after the conclusion of peace, but by a supplementary article to the treaty in 238 B.C.; hence the Romans regarded it as the result of the war; see on 21. 1. 5; 40. 5. — **vectigalis**: for the meaning, see on 21. 41. 7. — **nisi quod**: yet there was an essential difference in the two cases.

55. 1. **praetores**: see ch. 35. 5. — **curiam Hostiliam**: built by Tullus Hostilius (see 1. 30. 2); it was the oldest, and till the time of Caesar, the most common meeting-place of the senate.

2. **dubitabant**: often used by Livy and Nepos as a *verbum sentiendi* with the accusative and infinitive, but in Caesar, and Cicero it is followed by *quin.*

3. **sicuti . . . ita**, *as . . . as*, differing from *ut . . . ita*, *indeed . . . but;* cf. 23. 34. 12. — **obstreperet**: the preposition implies that the deliberation of the senate was disturbed by the noise. — **facto**: abl. abs. with subject supplied from the context, *qui vivi*, *qui mortui essent;* cf. ch. 4. 4.

4. **expeditos**: cf. *inpigros*, § 6. — **Appia via**: the usual order, as in ch. 1. 12, and as always in prose *sacra via;* cf. 2. 13. 11. On the contrary, adjectives of four syllables are commonly postpositive with *via;* cf. 36. 8, *via fornicata;* ch. 11. 5, *via Flaminia;* 3. 52. 3, *via Nomentana.* — **obvios**: used as a substantive; see on ch. 7. 11.

5. **miseriti**: this participle occurs in 27. 33. 11, but its personal use is rare. — **Romani nominis**, *Roman soldiers*, as often *Latini nominis.* — **proelium**: of uncertain derivation, and commonly used of unimportant engagements, hence modified by such adjectives as

leve, tumultuarium; but cf. 2. 19. 5, *proelium aliquanto quam cetera gravius atque atrocius*, and Seneca, Controv. 5. 7, *proelium Cannense.* — **paret . . . agat**: see on 21. 7. 1.

6. **iuvenes**: here equivalent to *equites*, as often in the earlier books; cf. 2. 20. 11; 3. 61. 7; 10. 28. 7. — **illud**, *the following action;* explained by the clauses with *ut*. The city was declared to be in a state of siege. — **tumultum ac trepidationem**: for the alliteration, see on 21. 4. 2; *terror ac tumultus* are also frequent. — **intra . . . limen**: Plutarch, Fabius, says that funeral rites were to be performed within the houses, and mourning restricted to thirty days; see ch. 56. 5.

7. **familiarum**: the slaves. — **exspectent**: change of subject instead of *ut suae quemque fortunae domi auctorem exspectare iuberent.* The former subject *patres* reverts with *ponant.*

8. **urbe**: in classical Latin *egredi* was construed with the accusative only when it meant "to cross a boundary," as *flumen egredi;* cf. Sallust, Jug. 110. 8; *fines egredi*, Caes. B. G. 1. 44, and figuratively, *egredi modum, veritatem.* — **nullam**: flight was thus prevented, as it was not after the battle on the Allia; see ch. 5. 6.

56. 1. **pedibus . . . issent**: the form *in sententiam alicuius ire* is also used, as in 23. 10. 4. In voting the senators crossed to the side of the one whose opinion they favored, a method of division similar to that now in use in the English House of Commons. — **submota**: used of forcible or official removal (cf. 21. 7. 8; ch. 60. 2 and 17), as of clearing the way before the consuls by the lictors (cf. 3. 45. 5; 48. 3), and of removing unbidden persons from a closed session (cf. ch. 60. 2). — **magistratus**: i.e. *minores.* — **diversi**, *in all directions;* so *passim*, in 3. 34. 3. — **tum demum**: a reflection upon the delay of Varro. — **litterae**, *dispatches;* the usual word for official announcements, as in § 6; ch. 24. 14; 33. 9; 57. 1; different from *epistula*, which is rarely used in this sense, though Sallust has *epistula Pompei.*

2. **decem**: not in accord with ch. 54. 1 and 4. — **incompositorum**: with a different meaning from that in ch. 50. 8, here indicating that the scattered remnants of the army were not yet organized into centuries, cohorts, etc., or provided with officers.

3. **sedere**: implying censure; see on 21. 25. 6. — **nundinantem**: "bargaining," "haggling," strictly "marketing," since the ninth

day was market-day. Similarly Ennius says (Cic. de Off. 1. 11. 38) *cauponantes bellum*, "making a traffic of war"; but in 23. 1. 1, Livy says, *Hannibal post Cannensem pugnam . . . confestim ex Apulia in Samnium moverat.* One can hardly avoid feeling that, in putting these words into the mouth of Varro, Livy intended not only to criticise Hannibal, but to satirize the consul whose folly had led to the defeat, but who now was reflecting upon the judgment of a great and victorious general.

4. **clades**: this can hardly mean complete lists of the lost, but only reports of the missing officers, senators, etc. — **opplevit**: the word implies oppressive fulness; cf. ch. 49. 6; 21. 35. 7. — **sacrum . . . Cereris**: the regular *Cerealia* were celebrated on the 19th of April, hence this was some other festival, since the battle was fought (Gellius, 5. 17. 5) on the 2d of August of the current calendar, really in June by the correct calendar. — **in illa tempestate**, *in that grievous time;* without a preposition in 25. 24. 11, *urbem illa tempestate pulcherrimam;* 26. 11. 8, *templum illa tempestate inclutum;* with the meaning of *tempus* the word is archaic, though often in Sallust; cf. our use of "season." — **fuerat** = *facta erat*, *had not been brought into mourning.*

5. **triginta**: instead of the customary year (ten months) of mourning for parents, children, husband or wife; see 2. 7. 4.

6. **T. Otacilio**: see ch. 31. 6.

7. **stare**, *was lying off;* cf. ch. 19. 5; 57. 1; Verg. Aen. 6. 902, *stant litore puppes;* different from *sedere*, "to be grounded." — **paratam instructamque**: so in 33. 48. 2; often in reverse order, as in ch. 19. 2.

8. **provinciamque Romanam aliam**: the other parts of the island belonging to the Romans; see on 21. 1. 5. Livy often uses *alia* for *reliqua*, and joins *cetera* by preference with collectives like *acies*, *multitudo*, *classis*, *praeda.*

57. 1. **praetoris**: strictly he was propraetor; see ch. 31. 6; 37. 13. — **M. Claudium**: *Marcellum*, called the "Sword of Rome." In his consulship, 222 B.C., he had defeated the Gauls at Clastidium, and later he defeated Hannibal at Nola, though this is denied by Polybius, 15. 11, but in 208 he was himself defeated and killed by Hannibal; see 27. 27. 7. — **quantum . . . posset**, *at the first opportunity consistent with the welfare of the state; per commodum,* as in

10. 25. 17. Caes. B. G. 5. 46, has *commodo.* — **veniret**: to appoint a dictator, which could only be done *in agro Romano.*

2. **Territi**: the form of the sentence is noticeable, since it is not the crime of the Vestals, but its punishment, that is represented as the cause of the general fear; *quod . . . necata . . . caesus erat.* — **super**: for the meaning, see on 21. 46. 1. — **necata**: buried alive; see 8. 15. 8; Festus, p. 162, *neci datus proprie dicitur qui sine volnere interfectus est, ut veneno aut fame.* See Lanciani's *Ancient Rome in the Light of Modern Discoveries*, ch. vi. pp. 144–146.

3. **pontificis**: perhaps *pontificius.* According to Cassius Hemina in Prisc. 7. 294, H. *scriba pontificius qui cum eabus stuprum fecerat.* — **quos**: refers by synesis to the entire college of *scribae.* — **pontifice**: in whose *patria potestas* the Vestals were. — **in comitio**, *publicly*, as a terrifying example; joined with *in foro* in Tac. Agric. 2. — **caesus**: sc. *supplicio servili;* the legal penalty for this crime.

4. **nefas**: the crime, not the punishment. — **libros**: the Sibylline books (called *fatalibus* in § 5); see on ch. 1. 16.

5. **Fabius Pictor**: the earliest Roman annalist, whom Livy calls *auctor antiquissimus*, 2. 40. 10. His report is given in 23. 11. 1. — **suppliciis**: archaic in the sense of *supplicatio*, but found in Sallust, Cat. 52. 29.

6. **foro bovario**, *the cattle market;* see on ch. 21. 62. 2. — **locum . . . consaeptum**: a stone vault. — **iam ante**: ten years before, in the Gallic war. — **minime Romano sacro**: as the Sibylline books were of foreign origin and written in Greek, Livy does not hesitate to transfer from the nation to them the responsibility of this horrible measure.

7. **rebantur**: rather archaic for *arbitrabantur;* see Cic. de Or. 3. 38. 153. — **scriptos habebat**: which he had enrolled and now had united under his command.

8. **tertia**: this is not opposed to ch. 27. 10, since there was a new division of the army in the year 216, but is opposed to ch. 53. 2; perhaps, however, the reserve and the marine forces were numbered independently of the army in the field. In 23. 14. 2, we hear of two *legiones urbanae;* see ch. 11. 3. — **Teanum Sidicinum**: on the *Appia Via* in Campania, and key to the passage from south to north. — **magnis itineribus**, *forced marches.*

9. **M. Iunius**: *Pera*, the last dictator *rei gerundae causa.* — **Ti**

Sempronius: *Gracchus*, not the consul of 218. The master of horse here seems to have been named by the consul, elsewhere by the dictator; see 9. 38. 15. — **iuniores**: those from seventeen to forty-five inclusive. At seventeen began the *tirocinium*, when the *toga praetexta* of boyhood was put off and the *toga virilis* was assumed; see 25. 5. 8.

10. **ex formula**, *according to the roll* of those capable of bearing arms; see 27. 10. 2, *milites ex formula paratos.* — **spolia**: on the custom of ornamenting temples with *spolia*, see 9. 40. 16; 23. 14. 4, and Hor. Od. 3. 5. 19.

11. **novi**: the levy was not only new but strange, for it contained both boys and slaves. — **Octo milia**: these were called *volones*, "volunteers" (23. 32. 1), perhaps because they answered the question *vellentne militare*, by individually saying *volo*. — **servitiis**: for *servis*, often in Livy; see 1. 40. 3; 2. 10. 8; 11. 5, etc.

12. **magis placuit**: Seneca, Exc. Contr. 5. 7, *populus Romanus Cannensi proelio in summas redactus angustias, cum servorum desideraret auxilia, captivorum contempsit et credidit eos libertatem magis tueri posse, qui nunquam habuissent, quam qui perdidissent.* Freedom was first definitely promised and also given in the year 214 (see 24. 14. 5; 16. 9), though Appian, Hann. 27, says it was given at this time. — **redimendi**: the special word for the ransom of prisoners, by which they were restored to their former condition; cf. ch. 59. 6, 7, 11; on the other hand *empta* of slaves; cf. § 11, and ch. 59. 12.

58–61. 10. The proposed ransom of the Roman prisoners; cf. with ch. 58; Polybius, 6. 58; Cic. de Off. 1. 13. 40; 3. 32. 113.

58. 1. **secundum**: for the meaning, see on 21. 45. 8.

2. **ad Trebiam**: Livy did not mention this in his account of the battle in 21. 57; for the second case, see ch. 7. 5. — **sine pretio**: in ch. 52. 3, Hannibal demanded 200 denarii a man. — **numquam alias**: often in Livy, as in ch. 8. 6; 1. 28. 4; 2. 9. 5; 22. 7.

3. **de dignitate**, *only for honor*; see on 21. 4. 7. — **simul . . . et**: with this association cf. ch. 23. 10; 21. 21. 10. — **virtuti**: more general than *fortitudini*, though *fortis* and *felix* are often joined, as in 31. 20. 2. The expression recalls Cicero's description of the qualities of a great general, Pro Lege Manilia, 10. 28, "*scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem.*

4. **trecenos**: in accord with Polybius, who says three minae,

equal to 300 drachmas or denarii. An old report contained in Gellius, 7. 18. 2, says *darent argenti pondo libram et selibram.*

5. **adiciebatur**: at the surrender (see ch. 52. 3) no distinction was made between the cavalry and the infantry. The imperfect expresses Hannibal's purpose which was not carried out. The whole account gives a basis for *nundinantem;* see ch. 56. 3. — **quo**: for which *quod* might have been used, as in ch. 59. 6, but cf. ch. 52. 3, and Plaut. Bacch. 879, *Ducentis Philippis pepigi.* — **pepigerant**: this and the corresponding perfect are commonly used as tenses of *paciscor*, but *pactus* appears in 59. 6; see Quint. 1. 6. 10. — **quamcumque**: in the earlier writers not used without a verb, but in Livy and later writers it equals *quamlibet* or *quamvis;* cf. 1. 3. 3; 9. 9. 11; Roby's Grammar, 2289.

7. **inclinaret**: usually transitive. — **animus**: the feeling in Rome, especially of the senate; commonly in the plural.

8. **unus**: Gellius, l.c. *duo solutos se esse religione dicebant*, where, as in the story of Regulus, an exchange of prisoners is mentioned.

9. **verbis**, *in the name of*, without giving his exact words; cf. 9. 36. 7 and 14, *consulis, senatus, verbis.* — **excederet**: so of the dismissal of the Volsci in 2. 37. 8, and like that of the envoys of Jugurtha, Sallust, Jug. 28. 2.

59. The following speech and the reply, ch. 60, rest upon the supposition that the Roman state would be called upon to pay the ransom of the prisoners, or at least to advance it, whereas, in the older tradition (Pol. 6. 58, and Appian, Hann. 28) the only question was whether the senate should allow the prisoners to be ransomed by their friends. It is to be borne in mind that from § 3 on, the speaker says much in favor of the prisoners that is exaggerated or untrue. The argument is: (1–6) We deserve to be ransomed; (7–9) such a course is not against precedent; (10, 11) the fugitives from the battle are not to be preferred to us; (12) we are better than slaves; (13–16) the cruelty of the Carthaginians is an argument for ransom; (17–19) the refusal to ransom would be a disgrace worse than death.

1. **viliores**: with reference to the story of Regulus, and the willingness of the Romans after the battle of Heraclea, B.C. 280, to leave their captive soldiers in the hands of Pyrrhus rather than to conclude a peace; see on § 18.

2. **plus iusto**: cf. ch. 54. 8, *minora vero;* 23. 19. 11, *citatior solito;* 24. 9. 7, *plus solito.* A. & G. 247, b.; G. 399, R.; H. 417, n. 5.

4. **extraxissemus**: the speaker skilfully puts those forward who had been in the battle, as having the most claim to sympathy.

5. **aqua arceremur**: as stated in ch. 52. 1. — **confertos**: an exaggeration; see ch. 50. 9. — **aliquem . . . militem**: equivalent to *aliquid militum.*

6. **tunc demum**, *then only;* a little more exact in defining the time than the more common *tum demum;* cf. ch. 56. 1. The asyndeton gives great liveliness to the sentence.

7. **acceperamus**: usually of oral tradition and often joined with *a maioribus.* The pluperfect here implies that they had this in mind, hence, *we knew.* — **a Gallis**: in 390 B.C., when Brennus, the Gallic king, threw his sword into the scales as an additional makeweight to be balanced with gold and uttered the cry *vae victis;* see 5. 48. 8 and 9. — **illos . . . tamen**, *they who were . . . yet;* *ille* is often strengthened by *quidem* when followed by an adversative clause (A. & G. 195, d; G. 292, R. 4; H. 446, n. 1). — **legatos**: at their head was C. Fabricius; see Periocha, Bk. 13.

8. **Atqui**: as those battles were less sanguinary than Cannae, the survivors of the last battle deserved more attention. — **pavore**: applies rather to the disaster on the Allia. The loss of the Romans at Heraclea was stated as 7000 men. — **nec . . . nisi**, *and only those of us survive whom.*

9. **quidam**: in the speaker's view the minority; according to Polybius, 6. 58, the bulk of the prisoners, 8000 men. — **in acie**: commonly *ex acie*, as in § 10; 24. 49. 5, an expression which the speaker purposely avoids. The form is a little harsh owing to the lack of a participle of *esse.* — **refugerunt**: not take to flight, but to withdraw to the camp; cf. ch. 60. 25.

10. **Haud**: the speaker disclaims in advance any invidious comparison. — **commilitonis**: refers to the socii, as *socii* is seldom used in the singular. — **premendo alium**, *at another's expense;* cf. ch. 12. 12. — **extulisse**: aorist for our present, so used particularly after *volo* and *nolo* and many impersonal expressions. A. & G. 288, d. R.; G. 275, 2; H. 537, n. 2; cf. 2. 24. 5, *nec plebi honestum . . . arma non cepisse neque Patribus decorum . . . consuluisse;* 30. 14. 6, *hanc te quoque . . . adiecisse velim.* — **ne illi quidem**: the

omitted thought is, "but I venture to say"; see § 2 and § 13. — **nisi**: ironical; in this sense usually strengthened by *forte* or *vero.* A. & G. 315, b. n.; G. 592, R. 4; H. 507, 3, n. 3; but cf. 21. 40. 7. — **pernicitatis pedum**: so 9. 16. 13, and Tac. Germ. 46. — **qui plerique**, *of whom the most* or *who for the most part;* see on 21. 1. 1; cf. ch. 60. 9. — **gloriatique sint**: this tense of the subjunctive (perfect; here with future perfect meaning) is rare in deponents, though *gloriatus sim* or *fuerim* (28. 41. 6) and *miratus sim* occur occasionally.

11. **bonis ac fortibus**: for the words, see on ch. 35. 7. — **utemini**: the senate thought differently and degraded the remnants of the army to garrison service; see on ch. 54. 6. — **etiam**, *still more ready;* this is the classical word used in strengthening a comparative; the post-classical writers used *adhuc.*

12. **aetate**: refers to the *praetextati;* see ch. 57. 9; **fortuna**: refers to the slaves; see ch. 57. 11. — **maiore pretio**: Hannibal afterward received from the sale of Roman prisoners in Greece 500 denarii for each man.

13. **nam**: a comparison may exist in number and price, but not in character; see § 10. — **censeam**: the modest form of statement is appropriate to the speaker's position; cf. 21. 18. 6. — **si iam . . . velitis**, *if you actually wished.* — **quod**: the antecedent is *duriores esse.* — **merito**: a *vox media* like our "deserts," here "fault." The ablative is modal, though it may be regarded as abl. abs.; cf. *nullo . . . spatio*, ch. 47. 2. — **cui . . . sitis**: join with *animadvertendum.*

14. **hospitum**: Dio Cassius, frag. 40. 23, says that Pyrrhus provided most carefully for his prisoners, and in general his noble, chivalrous character is renowned. — **numero**: this with a genitive of the person, like *loco* with a genitive of the person or thing, corresponds to our "as"; cf. 30. 42. 9, *hostium numero habere;* 8. 24. 4, *obsidum numero habere.* — **habuit**, *treated*, *regarded.* — **barbaro**: in opposition to the semi-Grecian Pyrrhus. — **avarior an crudelior**: see on ch. 50. 6, and 21. 4. 9. For the double comparative, cf. ch. 38. 8; 47. 3. A. & G. 192; G. 314; H. 444, 2.

15. **squalorem**: for the meaning, see on 21. 39. 2. Note the asyndeton and the assonance, and the double instance of the latter in § 16.

16. **Intueri**: through the open doors of the senate house; see ch. 60. 1.

17. **me dius fidius**: a formula of asseveration, elliptical and corrupt for *ita me Diovis* (Διός) *filius* (i.e. *Hercules,*) *iuvet.* Varro, De Ling. Lat. 5. 66; Tertull. Idol. 20; cf. *hercule,* 21. 38. 9. According to others *dius* = Ζεύς, *fidius* from *fidere.* A. & G. 240, d. n. 2; H. 152, footnote 4. — **mitis**: should he be willing to dismiss them without ransom; see ch. 58. 2. — **indigni ut**: the relative *qui* is more common. In 23. 42. 13 both uses occur. A. & G. 320, f.; G. 556, R. 2; H. 503, II. 2.

18. **capti** = *captivi;* according to Dio Cassius, frag. 40. 32, they came only to celebrate the Saturnalia and to bring about a treaty, but on their failure they were forced to return. — **redeam**: follows the order of the foregoing clause (*anaphora*), otherwise *ego, and . . . I,* would have been necessary at the beginning of the sentence.

19. **Suum . . . habet**: opinions may differ. — **Scio . . . magis**: the disconnected form of the sentence marks the excitement of the speaker. — **ne . . . abeamus**: explanatory of *periculum.*

60. 2. **necessitas,** *want;* since their support depended in many cases upon the prisoners. Their presence in public was proof of the great excitement; see ch. 7. 7; 55. 3 and 6. — **in foro**: including in its wider application the *comitium.* — **submotis**: for the meaning, see on ch. 56. 1. — **arbitris**: the ten representatives of the prisoners. — **consuli**: the individual members were asked to give their views; see 2. 29. 6; cf. 3. 39. 2, *priusquam ordine sententiae rogarentur.*

3. **de publico**: like *ex aerario,* § 4. — **nec,** *yet not;* cf. 21. 44. 5. — **redimi**: the pass. inf. is but rarely found with the gerundive of *prohibere,* since *prohibeor,* like *videor,* is usually construed with a personal subject and an infinitive. — **praesentia**: ablative; see on 21. 57. 4.

4. **praedibus**: properly *praevidibus,* a compound of *prae* and *vas, vadis,* ablative of means. The people would be secured by bondsmen, who must be citizen freeholders, and by mortgages on their estates, *praediis* (related to *praeda,* i.e. *prae-hid-a,* the same root as *prehe(n)do*), which would be sold if need be; cf. Cic. Epist. ad Fam. 2. 17. 4, *praedes pecuniae publicae.*

5. **Manlius**: *qui bis consul et censor fuerat,* 23. 34. 15. Severity was a characteristic of the Manlian house; one received the name *Imperiosus,* and *Manliana imperia* were proverbial; see 8. 7. 22. —

severitatis: genitive of quality joined directly with a proper noun, as in 21. 1. 4. — **interrogatus sententiam**: so 26. 13. 3; 33. 6; 36. 7. 1, but oftener *rogatus sententiam*, as 37. 14. 5. — **fertur**: Livy thus allows himself free play in the composition of the speech, as in 21. 43. 1, and cf. ch. 7. 13. The speech is thus divided: (6, 7) Introduction; (8–14) the conduct of the petitioners after the battle in neglecting and even preventing opportunities for escape shows that they were regardless of their country and unworthy of regard; (15, 16) they are already slaves, and may therefore not be restored; (17–21) their treatment of their comrades proves them unworthy of citizenship, and (22–26) their cowardly surrender of their camp destroyed the hope of future bravery; (27) conclusion, that they should not be ransomed.

6. **sine . . . eorum**, *without reflecting upon any one of them.* — **sententiam peregissem**: used absolutely in 9. 8. 4, *paucis peragam.*

7. **Quid . . . aliud quam**: also *quid aliud nisi.* The former answers to "what *else* than?" the latter to "*what* else than?" in which the negative is more prominent; cf. 4. 3. 3; 26. 41. 11. Similarly *nihil aliud quam;* see on ch. 12. 11. The whole expression is adverbial, *only.* — **morem traditum a patribus**: the *mos maiorum* was an important factor in the conservative politics of the Romans. — **Nunc autem**: for *nunc* in conclusions, see on 21. 13. 2. — **praeferrique**: supply *se*, depending on *aecum censuerint.* — **captis**: not mentioned in ch. 59. — **pervenerunt**: concealing the actual flight. The exaggerations and unfair statements are as marked as in the preceding speech.

8. **Atque utinam**: emphatic addition; cf. 21. 41. 13. — **apud . . . exercitum**: in a *contio.* — **ignaviae cuiusque**: for the two genitives, see on ch. 22. 8, and cf. 26. 44. 8, *testis spectatorque virtutis ignaviae cuiusque.*

9. **tum victoria laetis**: as if preceded by *cum hostibus cum plerisque fessis.* — **plerisque**. since according to ch. 50. 8 f. the Roman camp was surrounded only by troops of Numidians. — **per confertos**: the preposition is inserted in accord with § 27 and ch. 50. 8. — **per se**, *of their own accord.*

10. **Nocte prope tota**: exaggeration; see ch. 50. 6 f. — **monere adhortari**: see on 21. 10. 3. — **pervenire**: without the introduction of the person (*eos*).

11. **Si, ut**: as in 34. 2. 7. The conditional sentence is resumed in § 12. — **avorum memoria**: the exploit of Decius was in 343 B.C. (7. 34. 3 f.); that of Calpurnius in 258 (Periocha 17); Manlius was consul in 235. If he held the office *suo anno*, he must have been born in 278, and died at the age of 76 (30. 39. 6). He could thus have heard the account, *memoria*, of Decius' exploit from those living at the time, and his own youth would have witnessed that of Calpurnius. — **priore**: the speaker knew of only two Punic wars; cf. 21. 50. 9. Livy speaks from his own standpoint of *primum bellum;* cf. ch. 23. 6; 42. 9. — **hostis**: belongs to *inter medios*. The beginning of the clause is similarly ill-arranged.

12. **si . . . diceret**, *if P. Sempronius were saying this.* He vividly transfers the scene to the present, just as he addresses the prisoners, *vos*, as if they were present; cf. 21. 5. 11. — **nec . . . equidem**: recalling the thought of ch. 59. 10. — **nec Romanos**: "much less."

13. **Viam**, *but it was the road, not to glory more than to safety, that you spurned;* the adversative asyndeton is very forcible. — **demonstrat**: a strengthened *monstrare;* cf. 23. 33. 8; see on ch. 49. 3.

14. **servemini**: middle use, the verb corresponding to *salutem*, since *salvare* (*sauver*) is vulgar and late Latin. — **si . . . non movent**; cf. 5. 5. 1, *si nos tam iustum odium nihil movet, ne illa quidem movent?*

15. **incolumes**: in the unrestricted possession of all civil rights, in opposition to *abalienati iure civium*. — **immo**: a sarcastic term; cf. 21. 40. 9. You should have longed for your country while you were entitled to do so; now your country does not exist for you, and your desires are too late, *sero nunc*. — **deminuti capite**: a citizen's *caput* included his freedom, civic rights, and membership in (or leadership of) a family. *Capitis deminutio maxima* implied the loss of all these possessions, *media deminutio* the loss only of civic and family rights, and *minima deminutio* the loss only of family rights, as in cases of adoption, etc. Slavery and surrender to an enemy with the arms in the hands brought about *capitis deminutio maxima;* cf. Hor. Od. 3. 5. 41 f., and indeed the whole speech of Regulus, ll. 13–40. — **abalienati**: Livy oftener uses this word with a dat. or abl. with *ab;* cf. 3. 3. 4. — **iure civium**: commonly *civitate*.

16. **post paulo**: like *post modo, post aliquando;* cf. 5. 55. 1; 28. 24. 13. Note the similar beginning and ending of the clauses.

17. **scelus**: beyond cowardly indifference was the crime of insubordination, § 21, though this did not appear in the first account; see ch. 50. 10. — **conati sunt ni . . . submovissent**: the indicative is often used as an apparent conclusion of an unfulfilled past condition to denote that which is a fact, but a fact whose operation has been in some way prevented. We may supply the thought *et re vera retinuissent*, as the real conclusion; cf. 2. 10. 2; 50. 10; for *submovisset*, ch. 56. 1. A. & G. 308, b.; G. 549, R. 3; H. 511, 1.

18. **Hos cives**, *and such citizens.* — **Quorum si**: the relative precedes, the indefinite follows, the conditional word; cf. 21. 43. 16.

19. **hostes**: commonly *tot milia hostium*, but the opposition lies not in the numbers of the Romans and the Carthaginians, but in the implied necessity for a vigorous advance from the camp, and in the actual fact that the enemy did not block the road, but only made a demonstration on the flank; see ch. 50. 11.

20. **duarum prope legionum**: reckoned at 4000 foot-soldiers each. — **fortia fidelia**: for the words, see on 21. 44. 2; joined with *milia*, 21. 55. 4. For the asyndeton between two adjectives independently modifying the same word as in Jupiter optimus maximus, see on ch. 37. 12. — **boni fidelesque**: for the words, see on ch. 37. 4, and cf. ch. 59. 11.

21. **favisse**: apart from their lack of bravery they do not deserve the credit of good-will, since they did not follow those who dared to break through the enemy, with vows and wishes for success (ch. 50. 5), but even stood in their way. — **invidere**: the inseparable accompaniment of cowardice is envy of another's success.

22. **silentio noctis**: cf. *silentio proximae noctis*, 2. 7. 2; also ch. 17. 1. — **At**: introduces ironically the excuse some might offer for them. The reply begins at *Ab orto sole.* — **defuit**: parataxis with *habuerunt;* we should commonly say "while . . . yet." — **vallum armis**: so § 26.

23. **subsidia vitae**: provisions were doubtless scarce, as well as water; see ch. 52. 1.

24. **Ab orto sole**: immediately after sunrise, as shown in § 22; sharpens the opposition to *ante secundam horam* (reckoned from sunrise); see ch. 7. 14. The speaker exaggerates, as shown by comparison with ch. 51. 5. — **accessit**: purposely chosen, instead

of *aggredi*, to show that the enemy did not make an attack; their approach was sufficient.

25. **vobis**: ethical dative. A. & G. 236; G. 351; H. 389. — **pro vallo**, *for the defence of the rampart* (see on 21. 41. 14) or *forth from the rampart* (see on 21. 7. 8).

26. **oportet . . . necesse**: the former expresses what it was their duty to do, the latter what it was natural for brave men to do. — **e castris**: the preposition is wanting in the Mss., but is suggested by comparison with §§ 22, 27; but elsewhere Livy, as well as Caesar and Sallust, frequently uses *erumpere* with the simple ablative, especially with *porta*. — **cunctamini**: the speaker vividly renews the form of personal address as if the prisoners were present. Note the climax *et . . . et . . . et* of the next clause. — **manere, castra tutari**: the asyndeton between these two words is strange, since they are not synonymous or necessarily united; cf. § 10. Perhaps *cum* has fallen out before *castra*.

27. **istos**: contemptuous, in opposition to *illos*. The whole speech is but a rhetorical setting forth of the traditional Roman pride, since the actual grounds of the senate's action in ch. 61. 1 and 2 are not mentioned in it.

61. 1. **iam inde antiquitus**: so in 9. 29. 8; but elsewhere *iam inde ab initio*. — **minime . . . indulgentis**: see on ch. 59. 1. — **homines**: the senators, those whose votes determined the question.

2. **armandos**: the Roman citizen provided his own weapons; this of course the slaves could not do. — **rei**: money. — **locupletari**: a weak reason, since Hannibal received from the sale of the prisoners more than he would have received as their ransom; see on ch. 59. 12.

3. **non redimi captivos**, *captives are not ransomed;* the general principle whose application each would make to the present case. — **magnis**, *loud;* see on 21. 43. 3. — **prosecuti sunt**: for the omission of the subject, see on 21. 11. 9.

4. **Unus**: in accord with ch. 58. 8. — **exsolvisset**: virtual *oratio obliqua*, hence subjunctive. — **innotuit**: first found in Livy, afterward in Ovid and post-classical prose.

5. **fama**: according to § 10 more than oral tradition; see on 21. 1. 4. This version of the story, which is a union of Appian's state-

ment, Hann. 28, that three delegates were sent to Rome, with the better known story of the ten delegates, is probably that of Coelius, who followed Acilius. His version is given in Cic. de Off. 3. 32. 115. — **primo**: in opposition to § 6, *deinde, alios tris.* — **ita**, *only under the condition; tamen* is drawn into the final clause instead of *admissos esse, ita tamen, ne*, etc.

6. **morantibus**: abl. abs.; see on 21. 57. 3. — **longius**: often with a temporal meaning, especially in the comparative. — **insuper**: to find out what had become of the others.

7. **tum demum**: when the second delegation was refused a hearing; cf. ch. 56. 1; 59. 6. — **tribuno**: the first instance of a *relatio* by a tribune of the people. Mommsen.

8. **tris**: as in § 6 and ch. 6. 1, but this form is only in the accusative. — **per causam**, *under pretence.* — **ex itinere**: after they had begun their journey, not *in itinere*; cf. *ex fuga*, ch. 55. 4. — **paucis sententiis**, *by a small majority* or *the majority of a few votes.*

9. **proxumis censoribus**, *under the next censors;* abl. abs. Agency would have been expressed by *ab* with the ablative. — **notis ignominiisque**: hendiadys; *the disgraces resulting from the censor's brand;* viz. degradation to the rank of *aerarii*, exclusion from a *tribus*, and the taking away of the horse provided by the state. — **confectos**, *so completely undone.* Cicero says *notatos*, "branded." — **foro . . . caruerint**: they voluntarily kept away from the forum and all public places since they had lost the right to vote and all participation in active citizenship. — **deinde**: used adjectively, "in all their subsequent life"; see on 21. 7. 5.

10–15. Consequences of the battle; cf. Polybius, 3. 118.

10. **discrepare**: impersonal, as in ch. 36. 5. — **vel ea res**: emphatic, as in 21. 13. 3. — **firma**: see ch. 13. 11. — **de imperio**: of the continuance of the state, as in ch. 51. 4; 55. 5; for the more common *re publica* of § 14.

11. **populi**: Livy omits to mention the Campanians (Capua) that he may not forestall his account of their defection in 23. 2 f., though the defection of Capua led to that of Atella and Calatia, since these three were probably allied. — **Hirpini**: see ch. 13. 1. — **Pentros**: their capital was Bovianum. — **Bruttii omnes**: except Petelia, see 23. 20. 4; and Consentia, see 23. 30. 5.

12. **Uzentini**: in Calabria, now Ugento. — **Graecorum** . . .

ora: Magna Grecia. — **Galli**: these had previously gone over; see 21. 55. 4.

13. **clades**: disasters, battles; cf. § 10. — **usquam**: the following words would have led us to expect *unquam*, yet local idea is as appropriate as the temporal; cf. Eutrop. 3. 10, *in quibus malis nemo tamen Romanorum pacis mentionem habere dignatus est.* — **Romam**: analogous to the Greek construction and dependent upon a verbal substantive, hence prepositive.

14. **quo in tempore**, *in this crisis.* — **causa**, *occasion;* see on 21. 21. 1. — **ordinibus**: including the senate, since it was at their urgency that Varro had ventured the battle; see on ch. 36. 5. The greatness of Roman character was never more nobly displayed than in this act.

15. **ductor**: used by Tacitus, especially of the leaders of other than Roman troops. Livy says, 38. 48. 13, that the Carthaginians crucified their unsuccessful generals.

CRITICAL APPENDIX.

P = codex Puteaneus in the National Library, Paris, 5730, of the 6th century (according to Chatelain, the 7th according to Luchs) containing ch. 20, 8, *-ius avidissima* to ch. 21, 13, *copias partim;* ch. 29, 6, *-tegro bello* to ch. 30, 11, *quae adiri;* ch. 41, 13, *salute esset* to the end of book xxi., and book xxii.; C = codex Colbertinus in the National Library, Paris, 5731, of the last of 10th or first of the 11th century; M = codex Mediceus in Florence, Laurentine Library, plut. 63, 20, of the 11th century. Other and later Mss. need not be mentioned separately.

Editions: Ald. = Aldus; Alsch. = Alschefski; Bk. = Bekker; Crev. = Crevier; Drak. = Drakenborch: Duk. = Duker; ed. = editions before Aldus; Fr. 1 = Froeben, 1531; Fr. 2 = Froeben, 1535; Glar. = Glareanus; Gr. = Gronovius; Hwg. = Heerwagen; Htz. = Hertz; H. J. M. = H. J. Müller; Kr. = Kreyssig; Mog. = editio Moguntina, 1518; Mg. = Madvig; Mms. = Mommsen; R. = Rieman; Rhen. = Rhenanus; Sig. = Sigonius; Wfl. = Wölfflin; Wsb. = Weissenborn; Wsbg. = Wesenberg; Mg. Em. = Madvig's Emendationes Livianae.

BOOK XXI.

1, 2 *conferebant*] after ed. Venet, 1777, cf. Mg. Em. 210, *conserebant* C M.

2, 2 *cui*] Hwg., *qui* C M, *quae* Mg.

2, 6 *obtruncati interfecit*] Wfl., *interfecit obtruncati* C M, cf. Val. Max. 3. 3. ext. 7, *servus barbarus Hasdrubalem, quod . . . dominum suum occidisset graviter ferens, subito adgressus interemit;* also the past *interfecit* corresponds better than *obtruncat* with the following *comprensusque . . . (fuit); interfecti . . . obtruncat* C^2 M^2 and later Mss.

3, 1 *qua*] C^2 and later Mss., *quam* C M. — *sequeretur*] C^2, *sequebatur* with lacuna before *favor* Wfl.

4, 2 *momentum*] later Mss., *monumentum* C M.

4, 6 *voluptate*] later Mss., *voluntate* C M.

4, 10 *audendaque*] the reading of later Mss. for *videndaque* agrees well with the usage of Livy, 25. 16. 19; 23. 15; 26. 7. 6; 35. 35. 16; Tac. Hist. I. 21, *agendum audendumque*, but notwithstanding

the preceding *plurimum audaciae* it does not well accord with the training of the *magnus futurus dux.* Other combinations, 22. 14. 14; 53. 7.

5, 10 *inpeditum*] Hwg., *peditum* C M; cf. 42. 59. 8, where *inpeditum* of the Mss. is to be changed to *peditum.*

5, 13 *at ex*] Wfl., as in 10. 29. 3, *Galli torpere; at ex parte altera pontifex Livius vociferare vicisse Romanos;* cf. Catul. 64. 251; Verg. Aen. 10. 362, *at parte ex alia; et ex.*

5, 16 *a tanto*] Hwg., *tanto* C M; see note.

6, 1 *belli causa*], Mg. punctuates *belli causa. certamina.*

6, 6 *intenderant*] later Mss., *intendebant* C M.

7, 2 *Zacyntho*] ed., *Sagunto* C M.

8, 4 *coepti*] Wsb., *coepti sunt* C M. Wsb. says that the asyndeton *coepti sunt; non sufficiebant*, indicating here a result and not an explanation, would be very harsh.

8, 5 *prociderant*] after later Mss. since the clause is parallel to the preceding, as shown by *multae*, *unae*, *tres*, and epexegetic to *una . . . urbem;* cf. ch. 14. 2.

8, 7 *conseri*] later Mss., *consciri* C M.

8, 9 *confertim*] C M, Mg. with Gr. reads *conferti*, but Wsb. remarks that in such cases the adj. usually precedes the adv.; cf. 2. 30. 12; 23. 24. 3; 25. 11. 4; 36. 23. 4; but cf. also 37. 54. 5; Cic. de Fin. 5. 88. — *pugnabant*] later Mss., *pugnabatur* C, *oppugnabant* M.

10, 1 *sunt*] later Mss., *non sunt* C M.

10, 2 *adversus*] Alsch., *adversum* C, *adversu* M. — *non*] lacking in most of the Mss. which in § 1 have *auditique non sunt*, but *ceterum haudquaquam* might have fallen out after *suam*, or *parum* in opposition to *magno.*

10, 3 *ne bellum*] bracketed by Wfl. because P, 5736 has in the margin *oratio Hannonis suadentis senatum obtestantis ne . . . bellum*, and these words taken into the text by an added *vacat* are to be regarded as spurious; moreover, the same thought recurs in § 10. See Hermes, 1874, p. 368. Perhaps the words *senatum obtestans* are also to be stricken out.

10, 6 *repetunt; ut*] A. Perizonius, *repetuntur* C M.

10, 9 *di homines*] Mg., see Leutsch, Philol. 30, 523 *dii hominesque Romani*, after 5. 51. 3.

10, 12 *deposcat*] later Mss., *deposcit* C M.

11, 9 *quam qua*] Alsch., *quaqua* C, *quamqui* M.

12, 4 *insciis*] later Mss., *inconsciis* C M. — *victore*] ed., *auctore* C M.

13, 2 *venissem; nunc*] Wfl., *veni; sed* Mg., *venissem* C M. Cf. besides the note on the place, 1. 28. 9; 26. 29. 7; 32. 21. 1; 34. 31. 2 and 34. 3; *nunc vero*, Sall. Jug. 14. 16; Cic. Cat. 2. 7. 16; *nunc cum*, Cic. de Imp. Cn. Pomp. 17. 50.

13, 5 *audietis*] Gr., *audiatis* C M. — *et*] Wsb., *sed* C M.

13, 7 The objection to *binis* is unfounded; cf. the surrender of Nuceria, 23. 15. 3; Dio Cassius, 57. 30, μεθ' ἑνὸς ἱματίου; on the other hand Appian Pun. 63 [σὺν δύο ἱματίοις].

13, 8 *rebus*] to be bracketed since in M the second syllable is dotted below, the *re* appearing by a dittography; besides *his* agrees better with *omnium, aliquid, haec.*

14, 2 *imperatori*] Valla, *imperator* C M.

16, 5 *durissimum*] suggested by Rühl, Rhein. Mus. 1877, p. 327.

17, 8 *iusto*] stricken out by Usener, Rhein. Mus. XIX. p. 146.

18, 10 *icit*] later Mss., *iecit* C M, so in § 11. — *ex*] added after Luchs (Acta Erl. III. p. 188).

19, 1 *excisa*] Heräus suggests *excissa*. See his note on Tac. Hist. 2. 38 appendix, *excidium*, ch. 16. 1; 39. 8.

19, 6 *et in*] Mg., *ut in* C M.

19, 9 [*Saguntini*] attracted to the relative from the causal clause, and *Saguntinos*, an emendation, weakens the force of *Saguntina clades*, § 10; the speaker therefore is more effective by leaving it indefinite.

20, 4 *avertere*] later Mss., *advertere* C M.

20, 9 *expectatione*] Hwg., *in expectatione* P. — *transisse*] P² C M, *tramisisse* P.

21, 8 *aut iam*] later Mss., *aut etiam* P.

21, 9 *prospera*] *prospere* P C M.

22, 1 *id eo minus*] Döring (*ideo minus* Gr.), *ideo* ‖ (erasure) C, *ideo haud minus* M.

22, 2 *firmat*] Linsmayer, *firmatque eum* C M; the *eum* is probably spurious, since *firmare* does not take a person as object (Wsb.); see n.; *firmatque eam* (as ch. 21. 10) is less probable from the preceding *eam provinciam destinat*. — *Baliaribus quingentis*] Sig., *baliaribus* C M.

22, 3 *quadringenti quinquaginta*] Gr., *CCCC.* C M; cf. Pol. 3. 33.

15.—*trecenti*] Wfl. after Pol. 3. 33. 16, *ducenti* C M.—*quod*] ed., *quid* C M.

22, 4 *ad tuendam maritumam oram*] an early correction in C, *ad tuende maritime orae* C[1], *ad tuendae* || *maritumae ora* || M. Mg. *tuendae maritumae orae* with later Mss.; cf. Alsch.

22, 5 *redit*] C, *rediit* M, so Mg. and Frigell. — *Onussam*] M. Müller, *omissam* C M. — *marituma ora*] bracketed by Wfl. The words, if genuine, must be joined immediately to *praeter urbem*, as a nearer definition of way, and the abl. of direction does not accord with Livy's style; ch. 31. 9, *per oram;* 22. 19. 3, *in litore ducit;* different from *adversa ripa* (ch. 31. 2), where the direction is implied in the adj.; cf. Wölfflin's essay, Antiochus of Syracuse, 1872, pp. 24, 25. H. J. Müller (Historical Investigations, Bonn, 1872, p. 156) conjectures *atque inde profectus per maritumam oram Dertossam urbem ad Hiberum ducit.*

23, 2 Instead of *Lacetaniam* Hübner conjectures *Iaccetaniam*, after Strabo, 3. 4. 10, but with this the expression *orae* does not well accord, since Iacca, the chief town of the district, lies nearer the Cantabrian sea, and Hannibal could hardly have extended his conquests so far.

23, 4 *inexsuperabili*] Wfl. with Mg., *insuperabili* C M. Cf. Wfl. On the Criticism and Diction of Livy, 1864, p. 27.

24, 3 *et vel*] C M, *vel* Mg. with later Mss.

25, 4 *pro Annio Servilioque M'. Acilium*] Wsb., *pro aulo servilioque m̄ acilium* C M.

25, 5 *incertum est*] Heräus, Wfl. The Mss. have *dubium est* (spurious repetition from § 4), and in the following line *incertum an in triumviros*, where the adjective is to be regarded as a misplaced marginal explanation originally belonging to *dubium.*

25, 9 *praecipitatur*] Gr., *praecipitatus* C M, Mg. reads *praecipitat;* cf. Em. 143.

25, 10 The lacking *sescentos* (= DC) of the Mss. may conjecturally be supplied from the doubling of the two nearest letters; perhaps *ad quingentos*, the reading of H. J. Müller after Gr., is sufficient.

25, 11 The reading of C and M *cum apparuit* is probably a combination of *apparuit* and its variant *comparuit*, which Livy seldom uses of persons.

26, 2 *consule*] later Mss., *consulibus* C, *consulis* M[1], *consulibus* M[2]; cf. Pol. 3. 40. 14.

26, 3 *erat, scripta*] Wsb., *transcripta* C, *transcripta* M.—*Saluvium*] Alsch., *Saluiū* (ū in erasure) C, *Saluium* M, *Salyum* Mg.

26, 6 *amnis*] bracketed with Voss and others; the word, independent of the cacophony, is corrupted from *armis*; and is superfluous, since *ripa* already in apposition to *ora* indicates the bank, and if the rare combination, *ripa amnis, fluminis*, is allowed (27. 48. 2; 31. 39. 6), yet here the preceding *Rhodanum* makes any addition unnecessary.

27, 4 *latiore*] Bauer, *latiorem* C M.

27, 7 *transisse*], Mg. says, "fortasse *transisse* [se]" and so Frigell[2].

27, 8 *naves*] Mg., *nantes* C M.

28, 2 *terrebat*] C, *terrebant* M.

28, 5 *sequeretur, nantem*] Heräus, *inde nantem sequeretur* Mss. Similar transpositions, ch. 2. 6; 34. 5; 36. 3, *velut cum* for *cum velut*; ch. 37. 6, *etiam* for *iam et*; 40. 10, *ne quam* for *quam ne*; 44. 7, *autem*; 49. 7, *extemplo et circa praetore a civitate*.

28, 8 *tum*] Mg., *ut cum* C M, *sex tum et* Harant.

29, 5 *Scipioni*] later Mss., *scipionis* C M.

29, 6 *Magali*] C, *macali* M.

30, 2 *terrae*] Alsch., *terrase* (= *terras*) P[1], *terras eas* P[2] C M.

30, 5 *tantum*] later Mss., *iam tum* P.

30, 7 *pervias paucis esse, pervias ex.*] Leutsch, Philol. 10. 218; *pervias paucis esse ex.* P, *pervias faucis esse exercitibus* Hwg.

31, 4 *ibi Isara*] Cluver, *ibisarar* M, *ibiarar* C, and so (as in C) Sil. It. 3. 452 appears to have read *auget opes* (*Rhodani*) . . . *mixtus Arar*, but in four days Hannibal could neither have reached the Arar (Saône) nor from there taken the route described in § 9, Wsb.

31, 7 *delegata*] Wfl., *delecta* C M.

31, 9 *Hannibal*] lacking in M.

31, 11 *gignit*] added after Kiderlin.

32, 2 *praegressos*] Gr., *progressos* M, *progressos* C M[2].

32, 6 *a Druentia*] Wfl., *abadruentia*, C[1] M, and later Mss., *abruentia* C[2], cf. Wfl. Criticism and Diction of Livy, p. 11; Antiochus of Syracuse, p. 97; *a Drepanis*, 28. 41. 5.

32, 7 *torpida*] Wfl., *torrida* Mss. Even if Nonius 452. 8 cites from Varro, *frigore torret*, yet Livy (ch. 37. 3; 22. 43. 10; 4. 30. 8;

5. 48. 2) and other classical writers use *torrere* only of heat. Cf. M. Hertz, Jahn's Iahrb. 1872, p. 852. On the other hand *praeustus* (ch. 40. 9) and *ambustus* (Tac. Ann. 13. 35) are not seldom used of frozen limbs. — *inanimaque*] Valla, *inanilmaliaque* C M.

32, 12 *degressos*] Gruter, *digressos* C M; cf. ch. 38. 5.

33, 4 *diversis*] later Mss., *perversis* C M; Mg. writes *per diversis rupibus inxta invia ac devia assueti decurrunt*, saying, "significatur milites per loca ob rupes diversas non minus invia quam devia decurrisse, ordine verborum contorto, sed Liviano et a quo ne alii quidem scriptores abhorruerint"; Adver. Crit. II. 514; Sen. de Clem. I. 18. 3.

33, 7 *deruptae*] Turnebus, *diruptae* C M.

33, 11 *cibo* is lacking in the Mss., indicating perhaps a large lacuna whose substance may be supplied from Polybius *ἐκομίσατο πλῆθος ἵππων καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἅμα τούτοις ἑαλωκότων ἀνδρῶν.* — *a montanis*] Bauer, *montanis* Mss., which Mg. retains though saying that *a* is probable.

34, 5 *circumspectans omnia sollicitusque*] Wfl. The reading of the Mss., *circumspectans sollicitusque omnia*, is impossible for Livy, since of the so-called Greek acc. he used *cetera* (ch. 8. 10), and that but rarely; similarly *alia* appears in Sallust, while the poetic *omnia* appears only in the prose of later writers like the African Apuleius, Tertullian, and Aurelius Victor. For the inversion, cf. on ch. 28. 5, *circumspectans sollicitus omnia* Mg.

35, 3 *praecipites*], Mg. reads *praecipitesque*.

35, 12 *adflicti*] Mss., *adfixi*, Drak. — *occiderant*]; Mg. reads *succiderant*.

36, 5 *inexsuperabilis*] Wfl., see on ch. 23. 4, app.

36, 7 *lubrica*] Mg., *uta lubrica* C M. The common reading, *via lubrica*, is harsh from the association of the two ablatives, of which one, *glacie*, must equal *propter glaciem*, and at the same time it is not clear to which substantive the adjective belongs. — *pedes*] Drak., *pede se* C M.

36, 8 *etiam*] Mg., *etiam tamen* C, *etiam tam* M.

37, 5 *apricosque*] Wfl. from *apricos* || *qum* C, — *prope*] Mg. reads *et prope*.

37, 6 *iam et*] Crev., *eciam* C, *etiam* M; Harant reads *est iam*.

38, 3 *maxime me*] Mg.; *me* is wanting in the best Mss.

38, 5 *Taurini Semigalli*] Wfl. with Mg., *taurinisnegalli* Mss., *Taurini sane Galli* Harant.

38, 7 For Salassos (Lipsius; *saltos* M, *saltus* C) Mg. conjectures *alios.* — *Montanos* as a proper name according to the citations from Pliny in the note; earlier *montanos.* — *deduxissent*] ed., *si duxerint* C, *deduxerint* M.

38, 9 *Seduni Veragri*] Gr., *sedunovelacri* C M; Mg. says "fortasse Seduni Veragrique," but see note. — *nomen norint*]; Frigell., Mg. reads *nomen ferunt*, Em. (220).

39, 1 *proximae genti*] bracketed by Wfl. since the words are not limited by a dative as in ch. 38. 5. — *armare*]. Mg. says *num* (*ad*) *arma* (*voca*)*re exercitum?*

39, 2 *enim*] later Mss., *enim erat* C M; cf. Wsb. *ad loc.*

39, 3 *et in*] perhaps *et ut in*, which would restrict *trepidatis* to the limits natural to expect under the circumstances; ch. 7. 7; 12. 4; 31. 1; Wfl.

39, 4 *volens . . . veniebat*] Wfl. after Mg., *volentes . . . veniebant* Gr.; cf. Antiochus of Syracuse, p. 98; *volentis . . . veniebat* C M.

39, 5 *ac iunxisset*] Wsb., *iunxisset* C M, *et iunxisset* Mg.

39, 8 *Hannibalis et*], Mg. reads *et Hannibalis.*

39, 9 *Hannibal*] Gr., *hannibali* C M.

40, 5 *a quibus*] ed., *quibus* C M.

40, 9 *torpida*] Lipsius, *torpentia membra*, Silius Ital. 4. 68; cf. above ch. 32. 7; *torrida* C M.

40, 10 *hostium*] M, *hostis* C. — *quam ne, cum vos*] Mg., *necumquam vos cum* C M; H. J. M. conjectures *quam ne cui, vos cum.*

40, 11 *decuerit*] Wfl. (others *decuit*) since only in the first book has Livy joined *forsitan* and *forsan* with the indicative, afterwards like all classical prose writers he joined it only with the subjunctive.

41, 4 *quia adsequi terra nequiram regressus ad navis*] Wfl. The reading of the Mss., *quia adsequi terra non poteram neque*** regressus*
nequi
ad navis, arose from a correction, *non poteram* (= *nequieram*), as also Ammianus, 15. 10. 10, *Hasdrubalem adsequi nequiens*, shows. *regressus* is not a verbal substantive as in 24. 26. 15, but a participle corresponding to § 3, *in terram egressus.*

41, 5 *inprovidus*] Wfl., *inprovisus* C M, but Livy does not use this of persons; cf. the quotations in the essay Antiochus of Syracuse,

p. 92; Curtius, 8. 1. 4, *ut inprovidum ad insidias praeda perduceret*; Pseudo Frontin Strateg., 4. 5. 4, *inprudens incidit in manus Gallorum.* Livy at least must have written *inproviso.*

42, 3 *legeret, cuiusque*] Wfl. regards *cuius* as a rel. pron.; the *legeret et cuiusque* of the Mss. is a dittography; *et ut cuiusque* Mg.

43, 4 *maior Padus*] Mg. brackets *Padus.*

43, 6 *essent; nunc*] Wfl. in accordance with Livy's constant usage; see on ch. 13. 2.

43, 18 *cum laudatis a me*] later Mss., *tum laudatis me* P. — *in aciem*] C² and later Mss., *aciem* P C¹ M.

44, 2 *pro patria*] Wsb., *patriam* P.

44, 6 *at liberum*] Wfl. after Kraus, Rhein. Mus., 1875, p. 324; *ad Hiberum* P, *at non ad Hiberum* Mg.

44, 7 *adimis? etiam in Hisp.*] Mg., *adimis etiam spanias* P, *ademisti? adimis etiam Hispanias?* Hwg. — *inde si decessero*] H. J. M., *inde cessero* P, while the copyist of the archetype passed from the *de* of *inde* to the *de* of *decessero.* — *transcendes autem? transcendisse dico*] Gr. and Mg., *transcendisse autem dico* P. — *vindicaremus* P, perhaps *vindicarimus* should be read with the older editors, Mg. and H. J. M.

44, 8 *mortemve*] P, *mortemque* Wsbg.

44, 9 *si destinatum*] Hwg., *destinatum* P, Mg. brackets *destinatum* and reads *fixum omnibus in animo est.* — *animo*] Wfl., *in animo* Mss. (cf. 6. 6. 7), where, according to the Veronese palimpsest, *sibi destinatum animo* instead of *in animo* is to be read. — *contemptu mortis telum*] Stroth., *contemptum* P.

45, 3 *Victumulis*] Stroth., *vico tumulis* P.

45, 5 *velit*], Mg. reads with Wsbg. *vellet.*

46, 3 *ex peditibus*] Wfl., *expeditis* P. — *ex propinquo copiasque*] Gr., *ex quo propinquo copias* P.

46, 4 *hominum et equorum*]. The connective lacking in the older Mss. is perhaps not necessary since the two substantives form a contrast; cf. ch. 28. 2.

46, 6 *pugna venerat*] Gr., *pugnaiverat* P, according to Alsch.; *pugnavierat* according to Frigell.

46, 8 *erit*] P and M, *erat* C; *erit* is demanded by *appellatus*, for *hic erat iuvenis, Africanus . . . appellatus* is not appropriate.

47, 3 *ad sescentos*] Gr., *ad haec* P; cf. Pol. 3. 66. 4. — *ripa Padi*] Gr., *rapidi* P, according to Alsch., *ripidi* according to Frigell.

47, 5 *fuerunt*] Gr. after a later Ms., *fuerint* P. The subjunctive arose from the preceding *fecerint* and *travexerint*, but *peritis* implies that Livy was in a position to give a definite judgment.

47, 6 *et*] Wsb.

47, 7 *circa*] probably *citra* after Mog., and Mg. in opposition to *traicit*, as ch. 48. 6; 54. 4.

48, 4 *in loca altiora collisque*] Valla, *loca altiora colusque* P.

49, 6 *perscribit*] later Mss., *praescribit* P. — *monetque*] Wfl., *monetque ut* M, *monetque et* P, where *et* is to be taken as a correction of the following *tenerae* (= *teneret* and the reading of M, *tenere* C).

49, 7 *et a praetore circa civitates*] Mg., *praetore* P M, *praetorem* C, *ad civitates* later Mss., *a civitate* P C M. — *intendere, et*], *intendere*, Sauppe, *et*, Harant, *intenderent* P. — *apparatu*] M ^{2}, *apparatum* P M ^{1}. Wsb. conjectures that a participle had dropped out and that it should read (*instructum*) *apparatu belli.*

49, 8 *dimissis*] Wfl., *dimitti*, Harant, *simili*, P.

49, 9 *morati*] P; *moderati*, H. J. M. after Hänisch, "regulated," 26. 42. 5, *moderatum cursum navium*; 28. 30. 8, since the Carthaginians approached the shore under full sail, but not by the shortest way.

49, 10 *signum*] Alsch. — [*in*] *stationibus*] Wfl. supported by Mg. and H. J. M., since the preposition is not usually repeated with the second of two words closely connected by *que*. Criticism of Livy, p. 27.

50, 3 *adfatim*] later Mss., *adfatim minus* P.

50, 7 *instructam*] Wfl. accepted by Mg., Hertz, H. J. M. and Frigell read *ornatam armatamque.*

51, 4 *iam forte*], Mg. reads *nam forte.*

52, 2 *minutus*] ed., *animi minutus*, Frigell, others *deminutus* or *admonitus*, *etminutus* P M.

52, 6 *consules*] Drak., *consulem* P.

52, 7 *obsolevissent*] Wfl., *absolevissent* P C, the marginal correction *ob* is perhaps wrongly inserted, since the same Mss. have *obutilia* for *ut alia.*

52, 8 *primos qui egissent*] Gr., *primosque qui coissent* P.

52, 9 *conlega cunctante*] Ussing, *cum conlegam cunctantem* P, others read *tum conlega cunctante.*

52, 10 *inopinato*] Mg., *inopinatos* P.

52, 11 *sequentes inter cedentesque*] Heusinger and Mg. (*inter*), *sequentesque* P. — *hostium caedes, penes Romanos*] Mg., *hostium Romanos* P, *clades* for *caedes* Frigell., Harant reads *post cum Romanis;* cf. 23. 33. 4.

53, 3 *quid enim ultra differri*] Mss., *pugnam ultra differri*, Riemann; Luterbacher regards *differri* as an impersonal infinitive like *differtur;* cf. ch. 21. 2, *nihil ultra differendum ratus.*

54, 1 *praealtis*] later Mss., *peraltus* P. — *equites*], Mg. says, "scribendum videtur cum codd. quibusdam rec. *equiti quoque tegendo*."

54, 4 *Magone . . . dimisso*] Wfl., Mg. agrees, but places *Magone* after *equitibus*, *mille equitibus Magoni . . . dimissis* P, Sauppe and Frigell. strike out *Magoni.*

54, 6 *ad destinatum*] P, *a destinato* Mg.

54, 9 *esset*] P, *et* bracketed with Gr., *essent* later Mss.

55, 2 *signa*] P, *signa ac* Glar., Luterbacher says that Wfl.'s note seems to show satisfactorily that the reading of the Mss. is correct and that the error is Livy's.

55, 5 *diducta . . . armatura est*] Mg., *deducte . . . armaturae sunt* P, Drak. suggests *diductae . . . armaturae sunt.*

55, 8 *quas*] later Mss., *quam* P.

55, 10 *in tot*] Mg. says "fortasse tollendum *in* ante *tot*."

56, 1 *et prope*] Rost, *in prope* P, *prope* C M, others, *ac prope.* — *e media*] Gr., *media* P. — *Hannibal ibi*] Wsb., *hannibali* P, *hannibal* || C [1], *hannibale* C [2], *hannibal* M. — *novusque*] Mg., *quoque novus* P, Wfl. perhaps *novus quoque*, cf. 6. 2. 3, *novus quoque terror accesserat; quo novus* Frigell.

56, 2 *alibi*] Wsb., *alii* P, *alia* Ald. — *qua*] Ascensius, *quae* P.

56, 3 *decernere*] perhaps *discernere* (Wfl.) as in older editions.

56, 8 *sauciorum*] Hwg., *relicum* P, *ex fuga sauciorum* Luchs, *invalidorum* Frigell., *integrorum* Luterb., *ex magna parte aegrorum* Wfl. (cf. 37. 24. 5), as *magna ex parte* often precede the adjective; cf. 24. 1. 4; 34. 14; 25. 1. 6.

57, 1 [*a*]] bracketed after later Mss., *qua portis* P.

57, 2 *alterum . . . revocatum*] Mg., *altero . . . revocato* P.

57, 4 *Flaminius iterum*] Glar., see note.

57, 5 *et ut*] Fabri, *et* P.

57, 9 *Victumulas*] Mms., *victumvias* P.

58, 5 *capti*] later Mss., *captis* P.

58, 9 *attollere* (S. 7. 11) from P according to the latest collation by A. Luchs; cf. Hermes XIV. p. 141. — *torpentibus*] later Mss., *torrentibus* P.

59, 4 *exspectare*] Fleckeisen, *spectare* P.

59, 7 *nequa et*] Wfl. and similarly Linsmayer, *aeaut* P, *saeva aut* Hertz.

60, 2 *Emporias*] Luchs, *temporis* P.

60, 3 *Lacetanis*] see note.

60, 4 *clementiae*] later Mss., *clementiaeque* P, a second genitive may have fallen out, H. J. M. reads *clementiae iustitiaeque.*

60, 7 *Cissis*] Alsch., *scissis* P.

61, 6 *toto cis*] later Mss., *stoicosis* P, *hostico cis*, Fabri.

62, 3 *in foro*] later Mss., *foro* P.

62, 4 *pulvinari*] Wfl. and Mg. after a later Ms., *pulvinarium*, never used by Livy, could only indicate by analogy with *apiarium*, *granarium*, *columbarium*, *vestiarium*, *vinarium*, the place where the cushions were displayed. For the whole chapter, see Luterbacher, *der Prodigienglaube und Prodigienstil der Römer*, Burgdorf, 1880.

62, 7 *iam primum*] Mg. reads *nam primum.*

62, 8 *Iunoni*] later Mss., *et iunoni* P.

62, 9 *Iuventati*] Mg. reads with later Mss. *iuventuti.*

63, 3 *adversus senatum*] Mg. reads with Gr. *adverso senatu.*

63, 9 *paludatus*] later Mss., *paludatis* P.

63, 14 *in omen*] Mg. and Gr. object to the preposition, but it accords with Tac. Ann. I. 14; 6. 12; though it may be omitted; cf. Tac. His. I. 62; Ann. I. 28.

To the Periocha.

Initia] Iahn, as Per. 41, *initia belli Macedonici; in Italia* Mss. — *referuntur*] Wfl. after the constant usage of the editor of the Periochae; cf. 31, *causae referuntur;* 17, *primordia;* 48. 51, *semina;* 39, *initia;* 38, *origo;* and often *res gestae.* The *acta* (*actum ortum*) *narrat* of the Mss. seems to rest on an arbitrary suggestion. Cf. Commentationes philologae in honorem T. Mommseni, 1877, p. 339. — *Saguntinum*] Wfl., *Saguntim* with *um* written above Cod. Nazar.; cf. 21. 6. 4, and the above work, p. 805. — *Magone*] error of the editor or the copyist instead of *Hannone*, 21. 60. 4.

BOOK XXII.

1, 1 *itaque*] Wfl., cf. his Criticism and Diction of Livy, p. 5; *que* P.

1, 2 *videre*] Alsch., *viderent* P, cf. Wfl. Criticism, etc., p. 6.

1, 8 *tenuerat*] H. J. M. conjectures *tenuerit*.

1, 10 *cecidisse*] Val. Max. I. 6. 5; Orosius, 4. 15.

1, 16 *divis*] Perizonius, *divinis* P. — *ex*] Mg. — *praefarentur*] cf. Wfl. Criticism, etc., p. 10, *profarentur* Mg. after Gr.

1, 17 *donum*] bracketed by Pluygers, Mnemos., 1881, p. 13 f. — *et*] Wfl.'s Criticism, etc., p. 10.

1, 19 *et eum lectum*], Mg. and R. *eum lectum;* cf. similar parentheses, 27. 1. 2; 14. 5; 48. 6; 28. 2. 4; 40. 39. 4.

2, 2 *paludes*] Wfl. in Hermes, 8, 363, as in the Periocha of book 22, *paludem* R.

2, 3 *et omne*] Mg. after P *id omne veterani erat robur exercitus*, but R. rightly considers *erat* (arising from *erant*) as a dittography of (*vet*)*erani*.

2, 6 *nec aut*] Wsb., *aut* P.

2, 9 *aut*] Hertz.

3, 1 *de paludibus emersisset*] an uncommon construction, not elsewhere in Livy, though common in late Latin, which replaces the decaying *ex* with *de;* Minuc. Felix Octav. 1, *de profundo emergere;* Tertull. cult. fem. 1. 7, *emergere de luto*, and *de anima;* 53, *de somno emergere;* in the classical time only in common language as Bell. Afric. 11, *de navibus egredi;* Cic. de Off. I. 13. 40, *exire de castris* is either borrowed from the *sermo castrensis* or is spurious, since the words are lacking in most Mss.

3, 9 *auxiliisque*] 600 Cretan archers, 24. 30. 13. — *proposuisset*] Hwg.; cf. ch. 4. 5; 45. 5.

3, 13 *obtorpuerint*] C, *obtorpuerit* P.

4, 1 *Trasumennum*] the most trustworthy forms of the name are for the first half *trasu* or *tarsu* (*thrasy* falsely recalls θρασύς, Plut. Fab. 3, and *transu*, the support of the Latin preposition); *i* also is found instead of *u*; in the second half at all events the double *n*, Ritschl, Rhein. Mus., 22. 603.

4, 2 *id*] ed. — *insurgunt*] Mg., *ad insurgunt* P.

4, 4 *haut dispectae*] N. Hell, Observat. Livianae, Marb. 1870; Alex. Tittler, Critical contributions to Livy, Brieg. 1873, p. 16, *deceptae* M, *decepere* Wsb. with the remark "perhaps *neglectae*."

5, 3 *ordines et*] Mg., *ordinemsed* P. — *noscerent*] later Mss., *nosceret* P.

5, 4 *vulneratorum*] Ruperti, *vulnerum* P. — *mixtos terrentium*] Heusinger, *mixtostrepentium* P.

5, 8 *adeo*, etc.] *adeoque intentus pugnae*, with erasure of *animus*, Mg. and R., Revue de philol., nouv. sér. t. IV. 126.

6, 3 *en*] Wsb.

6, 5 *super alium alii*] P, *super alium alius*, R., which is against the following plural *praecipitantur; super alios alii*, H. J. M., cf. 26. 4. 7; 41. 17; 30. 5. 10. M. Müller in appendix to Livy, I. 25. 5.

6, 6 *umerisve*] Wsb., *umeribus* P, *umeris* C, *humerisque* Mg.

6, 12 *coniecti*] ed., *coniecit* P.

7, 2 *diversis*] later Mss., *adversis* P.

7, 3 *utrimque*] bracketed (Perizonius) as a repetition of that in the next line, like *magna ex parte*, ch. 46. 4.

7, 4 *auctum*] Walch, *austum* P.

7, 10 *distracti*] Wsb., as in Cic. de Off. I. 3. 9, *animi in contrarias sententias distrahuntur*, *dispraeti* P, *dispertiti* vulg.

7, 13 *filii*] bracketed by H. J. M.

7, 14 *quibus copiis*] later Mss., *copiis quibus* P.

8, 3 *in valido*] Drak. and Wfl., *valitudo* P.

8, 5 *praetor*] Wfl.; cf. Criticism, etc., p. 13, *populo* P, Plut. Marcell. 24. 9, τῶν ὑπάτων τις ἢ τῶν στρατηγῶν . . . λέγει δικτάτωρα is incorrect unless he found a different reading in Livy, perhaps *nec dictatorem populus creare poterat . . . dictatorem praetor creavit;* Mms. regards *nec . . . poterat* as a gloss; Mg. reads *nec dictatorem populo (non consulto senatus) creare poterat.*

8, 6 *dictatorem . . . creavit*], *prodictatorem . . . creavit* vulg.

8, 7 *pro urbe ac penatibus*] Fabri, *ac penatibus pro urbe* P.

9, 2 *haut [minus] prospere*] Wfl., *haut maximae minime* Mg., *haud satis prospere* Pauly, *minue* P C, *minus* M.

9, 5 *quietis*] Gr., *quieti* P.

9, 6 *factis*] Gr., *actis* P.

10, 1 *conlegium praetore*] Lipsius, *conlegio praetorum* P.

10, 2 *sicut velim eam salvam, servata erit*] Wfl., *sic velim eamque sal-*

vam servaverit P. In the *sic* of the Mss. is *sicut*, as often *velut* in *vel*, ch. 42. 6; 44. 6; 26. 37. 5. *servaverit*, however, raises doubts, because one would have expected *servassit* (cf. I. 18. 9; 29. 27. 3), and the fut. perf. pass. in the parallel place (36. 2. 4) has better support. One might conjecture *sicut velim eam* (sc. *salvam*), *salva servata erit*, as Cato, de agri cultura, 141. 3, *salva servassis;* Plaut. Trin. 1076; Cic. Cluent. 12. 33. Mg.'s alliterative association of *velim voveamque* is elsewhere unknown, and the second subjunctive is strangely used for *voveoque.* — *tum*] Mg., *datum* P. — *[da]tum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium* stands in P after *hisce duellis*, and is placed by Lipsius after *qui cis Alpes sunt.*

10, 5 *clepsit*] later Mss., *clepset* P. — *cleptum*] ed., *coeptum* P M, *ceptum* C.

10, 6 *antidea*] later Mss., *ante id ea* P. — *ac* stands in P after *fieri*, and by Stroth is placed after *antidea.*

10, 10 *editum*] Fr. 2, *edictum* P.

11, 1 *deque re*] later Mss., *reque de* P M, *reque* C. — *quotve*], Mg. reads *quotque* with a later Ms.

11, 5 *ut ii*] Gr., *uti* P.

12, 1 *diem*] a later Ms., *die* P.

12, 4 [*quos*], *quos martios* P; Wsb. reads *illos* after Haupt; R. reads *antiquos* after Jenicke, but these are unpleasing from the repetition of *os; quamvis* Pauly. — *concessum*] ed., *concessumque* P.

12, 6 *novi*] Gr., *non vim* P.

12, 8 *necessarii cogerent*] Wsb., *necessari cogeret* P.

12, 12 *premendoque superiorum*] Gr., *praemendorumque superiorum* P.

13, 1 *ducem*] mentioned in note, is recommended by Wsb. and Pauly. — *ac*] Wsb.

13, 6 *nominum pronuntiatione os Casilinum pro*] Wsb. (*os*] Gr.), *nominum pro* P. — *Callifanum Allifanumque*] Mg., *alifanum calitanumque* P.

14, 1 *seditio accensa*] Lipsius, cf. Wfl.'s Criticism, etc., p. 14; *seditio ac de seditione accensi* P.

14, 4 *spectatum huc*], *spectatum est hoc* P. H. J. M. transfers this *est* to § 3 after *ventum.* — *ut*] Mg.

14, 6 *nuper*] Wsb., *per* P, struck out by Mg. and R. after Fr. 1, which also omits *suam* as an explanatory addition to *quam oram.*

14, 7 *laeti*] P., *lenti* Mog.

14, 8 *nos*], Mg. reads *nostram* after a later Ms.

14, 11 *quae . . . sunt*] a gloss, according to Wsb. and others; *qua* later Mss., *q.* P, *que* C, *quae* M.

14, 14 *arma*] Mg., *armari* P.

14, 15 *ducem*] Gr., *duci* P.

15, 1 *in suos*] Milan ed. 1505, *inter suos* P. — *illis*] Paris ed. 1573, *aliis* P.

15, 5 *prospexit*] Heräus; cf. ch. 11. 5; 14. 11; 21. 49. 8; *vidit* Mg., *prospectavit*, R., cf. Philologus, 26. 115.

15, 7 *ipsa cum*] Wfl., *ipsum cum* P, *ipsa eum cum* Mg., R., Wsb. — *pertraxere*] later Mss., *pertrahere* P.

15, 10 *rursus*] cf. Wfl.'s Criticism, etc., p. 16.

16, 4 *silvas*] Wsb., *situas* P.

16, 7 *praeligantur*] Mg., *praeliganturque* P.

16, 8 *nocte*] Wsb., *primis tenebris* P (repetition of ch. 17. 1) *noctem;* Wsb. conjectures *per noctem*, "under the cover of night," not "during the night," 23. 44. 6; cf. *per tenebras*, Tac. Hist. 1. 54 and 81.

17, 2 *a capite*] Mg., *ex capite* R, *excampieacapite* P. — *ad ima*] ed., *diuatimaque* P. — *cornua veniens*] Luchs, *cornuumaveniens* P, *cornuum deveniens* R.

17, 3 *circa*] Wfl., *circuma* P; cf. Wfl.'s Criticism, etc., p. 11. — *ardere*] Mg., *visa ardere* R., cf. 3. 5. 14.

17, 6 *tumultu*] Gr., *multo* P, *metu* Alsch.

18, 2 *supervenisset*] Gr., *pervenisset* P.

18, 10 *ac respirasse ab continuis cladibus*] Luchs, *ab continuis cladibus ac resperasse* P.

19, 2 *adiectis*] Luchs, P. followed by Mg., *adiecit* R., but this does not well accord with the following present *tradit*.

19, 3 *navis*] Ruperti, *navibus* P.

19, 10 *evehuntur*] Gr., *eveherentur* P. — *ac*] Gr.

19, 11 *turbati*] later Mss., *turbati et* P.

19, 12 *tum*] Luchs, *tam* P.

20, 1 *in litore*] Mg. and R. omit *in*.

20, 4 *profecti*] Mg. after later Mss., *provecti* R., Wsb., after P.

20, 6 *erat*] Mg.

20, 7. *praelecta est ora*] Wsb., *periectas oras* P.

20, 10 *cis*] Gr., *accolunt* for *incolunt* without *cis*, Mg., and R.

20, 11 *fuere*] P, *fuerent* arising from *fuer^eunt*.

21, 4 *tribuni militum*] Mg., who in his *praefatio* suggests with R., *duo tribuni militum; tribus militibus* P. — *mille hominibus* and *captis*] Mg., *momnis* (second-hand *momnibus*) and *captisque* P.

21, 7 *miserant*] Gr.

21, 8 *ad*] Hwg., *ac* P.

22, 6 *sollerti*] Fr. 1, *sollertia* P.

22, 10 *ea*] Gr., *ex* P.

22, 13 *momentum*] Mg., *nomen* R., Wsb. with P.

22, 15 *expromit*] Fr. 2, *exprimit* P.

22, 18 *peracta eodem ordine*] Luterbacher, *acta per eundem ordinem* (not Livian according to Wulsch) P, *acta per eum eodem ordine* Wsb.

23, 4 *omnem hostilem*] later Mss. and Crev., *omnium hostium* P, Mg. and R. retain *hostium*.

24, 5 *se*] added by Geist as having easily fallen out before *sciret*.

24, 8 *tum utique*] Wsb., *tum ut itaque* P, *itaque* Mg. after Ussing. — *totum*] ed., *tota* P. — *a castris*] Mg., *castra e castris* P.

24, 10 *iam fame*] the corrupt and also misplaced words cannot with certainty be reproduced, since Livy does not exactly follow Polybius; and we may conjecture *quia tanta paucitate . . . nam pars exercitus aberat . . . vix castra tutari poterat*, whether the parenthesis was Livy's, or owed its origin to an explanation of *paucitate*. For *artibus Fabii*, which cannot well be separated from *sedendo*, etc., cf. ch. 32. 1; 34. 7.

24, 12 *quingentos ducentem*] Gr., *adducentem* P, H. J. M. conjectures *DC ducentem*. — *utrique*] later Mss., *utriusque* P.

24, 14 *vanam*] Wfl.

25, 3 *Metilius*] Sig., *metellus* P. — *id enimvero*] Wex., *id enim* P.

25, 6 *quarum*] later Mss., *quorum* P. — *provincia*] bracketed by H. J. M. — *in custodia*] Ascensius, *in custodiam* P.

25, 12 *popularis*], *populari* Mg. — *inscitiam*] Luchs, *scientiam* P, perhaps arising from *sciⁱⁿtiam*.

25, 13 *et*] Mg.

26, 3 *quaesturaque*] Gr., *quaestura quoque* P, unsuitable, since the so-called *magistratus minores* are not to be reckoned in the *honores*, and therefore *quaestura*, etc., particularize the foregoing, but add nothing new.

26, 4 *dictatoria*], *dictatoris* Mg. from later Mss.

26, 6 *saevientis*] Ascensius, *sevientem* P.

26, 7 *senatusque consulto*] Gr., *s. c.* P, *senatus* Mg. and R. with Lipsius; cf. 21. 51. 5.

27, 4 *secuturum*] later Mss., *secuturumque* P. — *si dictator in cunctatione*] Gr., *se dictatoris cunctationi* P.

27, 8 *eam fortunam habitura, quamcumque*]. Mg., *enim* (*eram* M) *habituram . . . quaecumque* (*quecumque* C) P C M; cf. 29. 8. 3. — *alio*] Mg. reads *illo*; one would have expected *altero*.

27, 11 *quoque se*] Wsb., *se quoque* P.

28, 4 *procursurum*] Mg., *perocursurum* P.

28, 9 *vanis minis*] later Mss., *vanis animis et nimis* P; cf. Phaedrus, 3. 6. 11, *vanas exercet minas;* Wfl. Criticism, etc., p. 19; a different view, Wachendorf, Observat. Liv. 1864, pp. 16, 17.

28, 10 [*dimittit*] bracketed by Gr. and Mg.

28, 11 *increscente*] Wfl. Criticism, etc., pp. 19, 20, *aut crescente* P, *ut c* C.

28, 12 *ex*] Mg., who also suggests *subsequentem* for *succedentem*.

28, 13 *ac recta*] Wfl., who brackets *si;* Criticism, etc., p. 20; *ac si recta* P, *ac directa* Mg., *ac derecta* R.

29, 11 *ac*] Mg., *arma dexterae* P, which, after the analogy of 28. 37. 8, must be regarded as a regular asyndeton of the archaic Latin.

30, 1 *ad*] ed., *di* ‖ *catoris* P, Mg. reads *per*.

30, 4 *sum*] Wsb.

30, 5 *magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos*] Gr., *mag̃. equitum hos ordinibus suis* P.

30, 8 *pari*] Paulikovski, *par* P. — *demum*] after this R. reads *hi*.

30, 9 *famam*] Mg., *eam famam* P.

31, 3 *in*] Wsb.

31, 4 *et ignari ab locorum gnaris*] Wsb., *ad locorum et ignari gnaris* P.

31, 5 Heräus conjectures, *ad mille hominum cum Ti. Sempronio Blaesoque amissum*.

31, 7 *Cincio*] Hertz, *circi* P^1, *circa* P^2.

31, 10 *tertia*] Lentz.

31, 11 *creatus esset, dictator fuisse*] Wfl., believing that the copyist skipped from *creatus* to *crederetur; fuisset, dictator* Mg.

32, 1 *quod reliquom*] Mg., *quom* P, the same spelling (*reliquom*) in P ch. 15. 1; 21. 1; for the expression, cf. ch. 51. 1; 59. 4; 33. 2. 9; 34. 22. 3. In P §§ 1 and 2 stand after § 3; reversed in Fr. 1.

32, 3 *ad eoque inopia est coactus*] *eoque inopiae est coactus* (*redactus* Mg.) R. — *ei fuisset*] Mg., *timuisset* P.

32, 5 *proferri*] Mg., *proferre* P, which as the matter was dependent entirely upon the Romans was not appropriate to Pineus.

33, 6 *longinquae*] after C (*longinque*), *longinqua* P.

34, 2 *extrahere*] later Mss., *et extrahere* P.

34, 5 *prospere*] R., making the sentence more intelligible. — *posse apparuisset*] Mog., *posset apparuisse* P.

34, 9 *non*] Gr., *non id* P.

34, 11 *esse, et*] Gr., *esset* P, *esse* Mg. — *mature*] Kiehl, *magis vere* P.

35, 2 *nobilium*] Freinsheim, *nobilibus* P. — *plebeiis*] H. J. M., *plebei* P.

35, 3 *ex damnatione*] Harant, *et damnatione* P. — *ex qua*] Harant, *et sua* P.

35, 5 *praetorum*] Mg., *praetorium* P. — *Philus*] Alsch.

35, 6 *L.*] later Mss., *a* P.

35, 7 *non iam*] Mg., *iam non* P.

36, 4 The bracketed words appear as a gloss, since *fuisse* is indispensable, and in supplying it after *Romanis* (Perizonius and Mg.) the lack of connection with *auctas* is still harsh; also *in castris*, for *in acie*, is suspicious even if one remembers the 10,000 left as a guard to the camp. On *quidam*, etc., see note.

36, 7 *Caere aquas in fonte calido*] Luterbacher, *caedes aquas fonte callidos* P C M (*callido* C).

37, 7 *armorum*] Gr., *armatorum* P.

37, 10 *regi*] *regis* P, *regis legatis* Luchs.

37, 13 *ad* **] Gr., *ad navium* P, Mg. reads *ad* (*centum viginti*) *navium*. — *T.*] Ald., *m̅* P. — *erat* P] later Mss., *erant* P.

38, 1 *ab sociis ac*] Mg., *socii ab* P.

38, 2 *iussu . . . abituros*] in P these words follow *milites*.

38, 4 *repetendi*] Crev., *petendi* P, or *sumendi aut* is a gloss. — *aut hostis*] Mg. after Ussing, *et aut hostis* P.

38, 5 *ac*] Wsb., *ad* P.

38, 8 *urbe*] R., *in urbe* P, second-hand, *ab urbe* M.

38, 9 *qui*] Haupt, *quodnequi* P, *quinam* Heräus, the superfluous syllables *quodne* arose from a variant *quod dux*, and in *ne* is the remnant of a superscribed *nam.* — *togatus*] Muretus, *locatus* P.

38, 13 *et sua*] Gr., *id sua* P.

39, 2 *fideque*] Perizonius, *fide* P.

39, 3 *claudente republica*] Mg. after Ussing, *claudet reip* P. The rhetorical antithesis demands that *consiliis bonis* should form a direct contrast to *virum bonum*, but in the earlier reading, *claudet respublica*, the first part of the protasis does not give the desired antithesis, and at the same time is not joined with the second part (*erit*).

39, 4 *maneat te*] Mg., *maneat et* P, R. adds *cum tu.*

39, 5 *sis certaturus, et*] Bk., *si certaturus est* P; cf. Em. p. 249.

39, 7 *qui*] later Mss., *quia* P.

39, 14 *absumpti*] Hwg., *absumpsit* P. — *victus*] later Mss., *victum* P.

39, 16 *sedet*] Perizonius; but perhaps the reading should be *sedet! ne* (without *sed*). — *quidem de me*] Alsch., *quidem e* P.

39, 17 *Servilius*] Luchs, *p. Servilius* P, which does not agree with *Atilius*, and moreover the nomen of the consul was Cnæus.

39, 18 *si*] Mg.

39, 19 *vanam*] Muretus and Mg.; cf. Wfl. Criticism, etc., p. 19; for the position of the adj., § 18, and 25. 39. 16.

39, 21 *moneo*] later Mss., *suadeo* R. and Wsb. after Mg.

40, 1 *consulis oratio*] R. with Alsch. places the genitive before *oratio*, as the consul is contrasted with the dictator; *oratio consulis oratio* P.

40, 3 *sed si*] Hwg., *etsi* P, H. J. M. suggests *si.*

40, 4 *dignitates deessent*], *dignitas deesset* Mg.

41, 4 *gaudere*] Pluygers, *credere* P.

41, 6 *ferenti . . . milite*] R., *ferentis . . . milites* P, *ferente . . . milite* Wsb.

41, 7 *convallem*] Gr., *cornvallem* P. — *mediam*] Mg., *medium amnem* P C[1], *medium agmen* M.

42, 2 *tum*] P C, in second-hand *tam* P.

42, 6 *in hostem*] later Mss., *adinhostem* P C[1], *ad hostem* M C[2]; cf. P 22. 4. 2, *adinsurgunt*, and Wfl. Criticism, etc., p. 11.

43, 5 *ut, quo*] Ascensius, *quod* P.

43, 9 *ex . . . sententia*] Luchs, *sententia* P.

43, 11 *offuso*] Walch, *effuso* P.

44, 2 and 3 *Aufidius*] P, *Aufidus . . . Aufidum*, Mg. with later Mss.

44, 5 *Paulo*] Wsbg.

44, 6 *velut*] M, *vel* P C.

44, 7 *prompta*], *tam prompta* Mg. with C.

45, 3 *in*] ed.

45, 4 *adeo*] Wfl. on account of the following *ut;* cf. 38. 31. 3, and Wfl. Criticism, etc., p. 27.

45, 6 *instruunt aciem*] Wsb., *instructa acie* P.

45, 7 *cum ceteris*] Drak., *ex ceteris* P; Em., p. 306.

46, 4 *magna ex parte*] bracketed by Wfl.

46, 5 *ante alios*] Mg., *antetalius; abii sane et alius* P.

46, 6 *steterunt*] perhaps better *stetere* Gr., *statere* P, *starent* later Mss.

47, 1 *ab*] ed.

47, 4 *par, dum*] Mg., *parum* P.

47, 5 *conisi, obliqua*] Lipsius, *consiliaequa* P.

47, 6 *institere*] Gr., *insistere* P.

47, 10 *et* before *adversus*, bracketed by Mg. R. Wsb. after Crev. and later Mss.

48, 1 *Romano*] later Mss., *romani* P.

48, 5 *quia*] C, *qui* P; R. brackets *qui . . . praeerat* as a gloss.

49, 3 *denuntianti*], Mg. and Gr. read *renuntianti.*

49, 7 *et*] Walch.

49, 10 *Aemilium*], Mg. with Mog. reads *L. Aemilium*, but the praenomen seems unnecessary on account of § 7. — *et vixisse*] Alsch., *et vixisse et* P.

49, 11 *memet*] Alsch., *me* | *et* P, Mg. reads *me in.*

49, 12 *eos*] Mg., *ex* (*ecs?*) P. — *obruere*] Mg., *obruerent* P, cf. ch. 1. 2.

49, 15 *et tantadem*] Mg., *etanta* P.

49, 16 *undetriginta*] Gr., *viginti unudece* P. — *consul*] Gr.

50, 1 *Cannensis, Alliensi clade*] Gr., *aliiensi clade* P, *cannensi clades* C.

50, 9 *disicias*] Gr., *visscias* P; R. conjectures *dissicias* from *secere* = *secare.*

50. 12 *quos*] Bauer, *quod* P (in uncial writing *d* and *s* are very similar), *quem* Mg.

51, 5 *insistunt*], *spectanda in strage | insistunt* P, *exeunt* Mg.

51, 7 *succisis*] later Mss., *succisos* P.

51, 9 *substratus*] Fr. 1, *subtractus* P, which perhaps is preferable, and accepted by Mg. R. and Wsb. — Before *manibus*, H. J. M. inserts *ille*.

52, 1 *objecto flumine*] Gr., *flumine objecto* P.

52, 4 *et animi*] Wsb., *ut nimis* P.

53, 3 *adulescentem et ad*] after later Mss., but doubtless correct, since Pseudo Frontinus in the note quoted employs Livy; *admodum iuvenis*, Val. Max. 5. 6. 7.

53, 5 *L.*] as in § 12; *M.* H. J. M.

53, 6 *Scipio*] perhaps originally a marginal gloss, and accordingly lacking in the late Mss.

53, 8 *nulla*] Bauer, *nullo* P.

53, 11 *optimus maximus*] Drak., *optime maxime* P, retained by Mg., who reads *adficias*.

54, 6 *certe etsi*] C, *cernei | eisi* P, *certe si* Mg. with Fr. 1.

54, 7 *consulibus*] Gr., Luterbacher reads *ducibus* for *duobus*, rendering *consulibus* unnecessary.

54, 8 *ne*] Voss.

54, 11 *conpares aut*] Alsch., *conparesset* P, corrupt from the preceding *esset*, *conpares scilicet* Mg. — *et vectigalis*] Mg., *invecti gallis* P.

55, 3 *per*] Mg. with later Mss., *et paene* P. — *in malis*] later Mss., *in aliis* P.

55, 7 After *curent* perhaps *ut* has fallen out. Its insertion would prevent the harsh change of the subject.

55, 8 *urbe*] Mg., *urbem* P. — *recte* is fitting neither to *conticuerit* nor to *revocandos*, and is perhaps a dittography.

56, 1 *per*] Ascensius.

57, 1 *lectis*, etc.] supplied in later Mss. by conjecture, perhaps better *recitatis*. — *praetorem M. C.*] Gr., *marcium claudium* P.

57, 6 *terram*] Duker, *terra* P.

57, 11 *et formam*] Luchs, *et alia formam* P, *aliam formam* Mg.

59, 1 *M. Iuni vosque*] Harant. Revue de Philol. 1877, 50; $\overline{m}$ *iuniusq* P.

59, 8 *ad*] Gr., *Aliam* P, the preposition in P has been drawn into the preceding line.

59, 9 *ne*] Gr., *nec* P. — *refugerunt*] P, Mg. *fuere* = *fuge^re^runt*.

59, 10 *nobis*], P. *nobisme* (after Luchs), earlier *nobismet.*

59, 13 *iam*] Valla, *tam* P.

59, 17 *sed*] omitted by Mg., *set* ‖ *si* P, *si* C. — *vobis*] Mg., *a vobis* P. — *simus*] Muret, *sumus* P.

59, 18 *capti*] C, *captiti* P, Heräus conjectures *captivi.*

59, 19 *habet*] ed.

60, 5 *videbatur*] C, *videatur* P¹, *videvatur* P².

60, 9 *sed*] Gr., *et* P. — *per*] Alsch.

60, 11 *si ut . . . si ut*] Mg., *sicut . . . sicut* P.

60, 12 *equidem . . . ducerem*] Koch, *quidem . . . duceret* P.

60, 13 *demonstrat, reduces*] Lipsius, *demonstraret duces* P.

60, 15 *abalienati*] used perhaps by Livy for symmetry; *abalienato* Mg.; Heräus regards *abalienati iure civium* as a gloss. — *estis* bracketed by Pluygers, Mnemos. 1881.

60, 17 *quamquam*] Ussing, *quam* P. — *quid.*] Wsb.

60, 19 *sescentis hostes*] Mg., *sescenta milia hostes* P. The mistake is common in the Mss. since the horizontal line over the Roman numerals indicates both the thousands (Perioc. 22, lines 31, 39), and also that the character beneath is to be regarded as a numeral and not as a letter.

60, 21 *aut favisse*] Mg., *fuisse ut* P.

60, 22 *at*] Wex.

60, 24 *ab orto sole hostis*] Wfl., *orto sole ab hostibus* P.

60, 25 *istorum*] Wsb., *ipsorum* P. — *in castra*] Luchs, *cum in castra* P. — *redimamus*] Luchs, *redimam* P.

60, 26 *manere*], *manere et* Mg., Wfl. conjectures *manere cum.*

61, 2 *quia*] later Mss., *quam* P. — *exhauriri*] Heräus, Mg., R., Wsb., *exhaurire* P.

61, 5 *primo*] Wfl. R. Wsb., *primos* P. The words of Polybius, δέκα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους, afford no support to the view that *primos* equals *nobilissimos*, since from § 5 Livy no longer follows his authority.

61, 10 *indicio est, quod fides sociorum*] Alsch., *indiciorum* P.

To the Periocha.

1. 8. *ab Atherbale*] Marharbale; ch. 6. 11. — 14. *territos* supplied according to ch. 12. 10; 31. 10; *trepidos* seems too weak; 21. 39. 3.

— 20 [*discrimine*] bracketed by Wfl., repeated from l. 19, since the same word precedes in both lines; cf. Periocha 49, *castellum paucis equitibus iuvantibus liberatum est.* — 24. *clusus* for *inclusus*, also Periochae 40; 110. — 27. *circumposita*] so Periocha 50. — 31. *XC*] *octoginta* ch. 49. 17. — 42. *Florentia*]; *Floronia*, ch. 57. 2.

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[I. refers to Book XXI.; II. refers to Book XXII.]

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